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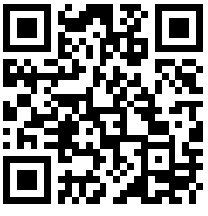

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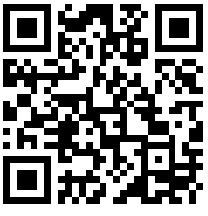

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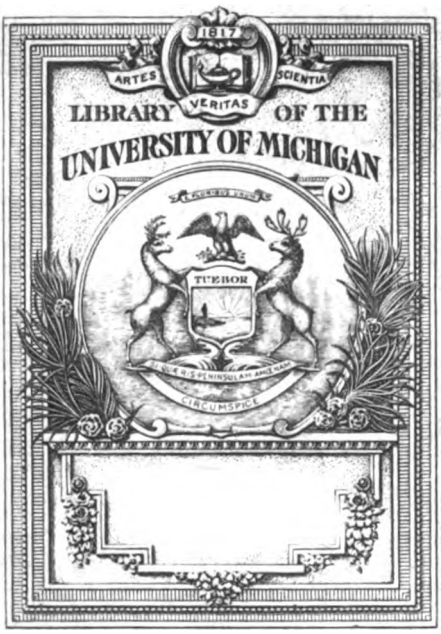

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The Germanic Review

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VOLUME V

1930

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THE GERMANIC REVIEW

VOL. V—JANUARY, 1930—NO. 1

FOREWORD

With the present number of the REVIEW begins the fifth year of its existence. The occasion seems proper for a brief retrospect and for a grateful acknowledgment of the support which the undertaking has received. It may now be confessed that when the editors began their work four years ago, it was with some fears. No doubt was felt that a research periodical of this character had a mission to perform for Germanistic studies in this country, but there was more than a possibility that it might be long before the undertaking would succeed in making a place for itself, and in winning the confidence of the members of our guild.

This confidence has been given in a manner which fills the editorial committee with a sense of grateful responsibility. Some years ago, the late Basil Gildersleeve, in relating his early struggles with the foundation of the *American Philological Review*, told, with real Gildersleevian humor, of days when he was editor, contributor, reviewer and office boy. Thanks to the productive energy and cordial support of our colleagues, the editors of the REVIEW have never faced a shortage of articles; indeed there has been no time since the first number when it has not been possible to make a selection among the papers and reviews sent in for publication, and a slight increase in the number of pages for the volume just closed shows that American scholars in Germanics do feel the need of a periodical devoted to the Germanic languages alone.

In the meantime, the prediction made four years ago, that the establishment of such a journal would be a stimulus to research, is, we believe, in process of fulfillment. The REVIEW has published approximately 1200 pages of research articles, excluding reviews, and it is not too much to say that the quality

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of these contributions fairly represents American scholarship in the Germanic fields. In one respect the variety of the investigations reported leaves something to be wished for: less than one-fourth of these researches are drawn from the field of philology, a considerable part of these relating to Scandinavian and Dutch. This weakness of linguistic interest is part of a default that is not confined to this country and which is greatly to be deplored. Philology is the finest heritage that the humanistic interest of the Renaissance has handed down to us, and linguistic researches are its right hand. It is with no idea of perpetuating a dead scholasticism, but as a challenge to American scholarship for a re-invigoration of studies in the languages and early literatures of the Germanic peoples, that the REVIEW invites scholars in these fields to contribute to its columns.

As reflected in the researches which have been reported in our pages, interest in German literary history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is about equally balanced, while the investigation of authors since 1890 fills a somewhat smaller place, but constitutes nearly one-fifth of the whole body of the material published. More recent German and Scandinavian writers claim the special interest of younger scholars, as is to be expected. But it cannot be overlooked that there is danger here that the historical view may be lost and that where perspective is lacking, mere subjective opinion may take the place of a systematic inquiry based on established criteria. Literary criticism is in itself important, but it does not usually qualify as a method of research.

The active interest in the Scandinavian languages and in Dutch is evidenced by the relatively large number of contributions from scholars in these fields, making more than one-fourth of the total publications in articles and reviews during the past four years. The exclusion of studies in Anglistics was determined upon in order to make it possible to cultivate research in German and the other Continental Germanic languages more effectively, and experience has shown that this limitation was wise.

In thanking those scholars who have made the REVIEW

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possible, the editors invite their further coöperation and renew the pledge to maintain worthy standards as well as the invitation to frank criticism. Every effort will be made, as in the past, to secure an early appearance for those contributions which are accepted for publication.

It is the desire of the editors to include important unpublished source material. The Heyse-Dulk correspondence last year and the Tieck-Raumer letters which begin in the present number, are cases in point. Where such material runs through several issues, it has been determined to make it available in a single reprint and to put these on sale as "Germanic Review Texts." The first of the texts to be published in this manner is the *Middle Low German Alexander Legend*, edited with an introduction and notes by Professor Barnouw. The REVIEW looks forward also, as soon as it is financially able, to presenting its readers with an auxiliary number from time to time. Such *Beihefte* will include works which cannot be brought into the limits of the periodical form, and will constitute a monograph series of scholarly contributions to our fields.

Announcement is made of the addition of Professor A. J. Barnouw and Dr. O. P. Schinnerer to the editorial committee. Both have had an important part in the work of the REVIEW since its organization, and they are cordially welcomed to an increased share in its editorial responsibilities. The committee wishes to record its appreciation of the work of Dr. Schinnerer as business manager, to whom is due the successful launching of the enterprise on its business side. We beg to introduce as his successor Mr. H. G. Wendt, who is also known to our readers through his work on the American Bibliography of Germanic Languages and Literatures.

In conclusion, the editorial committee wishes to offer its grateful thanks to those friends of Germanic scholarship who have given the REVIEW financial support. The publication of their names as patrons is very inadequate expression of gratitude for the generous help which makes the issuance of this journal possible.

THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

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THE INFLUENCE OF CHARLES PERRAULT'S *CONTES DE MA MÈRE L'OIE* ON GERMAN FOLKLORE

By H. V. VELTEN

PERRAULT'S *Contes de ma mère l'oie* had a vast and instantaneous success. Within a year after their first publication a new edition was printed in Holland, a copy of which can be found in the former Hofbibliothek in Karlsruhe.[1] How well known the book became, not only in France but also at an early date in Germany, can be surmised from Gottsched's account of the reception of the French fairy tales in Germany in his *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst*, which appeared in 1730, as well as from Herder's rather disparaging remarks on Perrault in *Andrastea*, II, 6.

The comparatively late occurrence of translations need not astonish us, if we take into consideration that French was the language of educated people in Central Europe at the time, and that Perrault's tales were read primarily in the French original. There even appeared French reprints in Germany. Sander in Berlin published the book in French in 1770. In the same year another Berlin edition was printed by Wever, containing the original together with a German translation. It was not until ten years later that Perrault's tales were translated again, when Mylius in Berlin edited a selection of them under the title *Einige Feenmärchen für Kinder*. Again ten years later, in 1790, two complete translations appeared.[2]

The early dissemination of the *contes* in German-speaking territory was also most probably due to oral transmission. For throughout the eighteenth century the upper classes in

[1] *Contes de ma mère l'oye*, Histoires ou Contes du Temps passé. Avec des Moralitéz. Par le Fils de Monsieur Perrault de l'Académie Françoise. MDCXCVIII, a Dutch reprint of the original Paris edition of 1697.

[2] In Bertuch's *Blaue Bibliothek aller Nationen*, published in Gotha, and in a Weimar edition entitled, *Sämtliche Feenmärchen von Ch. Perrault, Frau v. Lintot und J. J. Rousseau.*

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Germany were accustomed to have their children educated by French governesses or tutors, who doubtless told the stories to their pupils. The children, in turn, may have told them to the German servants in their household, so that the tales may have spread even among the common people early in the century.

At all events, the stories were popular in Germany for approximately a hundred years before the first genuine German fairy tales appeared in literature. A close investigation of the traces which the *contes* left in German folklore will show to how considerable an extent Perrault influenced German popular tradition.

I. *Les fées*

Perrault's *Les fées* is a wide-spread type of tale, related to the Cinderella theme, in which the heroine is rewarded for her diligence, kindness and modesty, while her sister is punished for her laziness, rudeness and greed.

In the *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*[3] Perrault's story is listed among the parallels to *Frau Holle*, the best known German tale of this type. The tasks by which the character of the sisters is tested in *Frau Holle* are, however, much more elaborate than in *Les fées*, and the nature of the reward and punishment differs considerably. The French story is much more closely related to No. 13 of the Grimm collection, *Die drei Männlein im Walde*.

Both stories agree completely as to their main contents. The younger of two sisters is ill treated by the mother. She renders a small service to a supernatural being, represented in *Les fées* by a fairy, in Grimm No. 13 by three dwarfs. For her kind deed she is rewarded by having precious stones or gold coins drop from her lips whenever she speaks. The older sister, trying to obtain the same gift, inadvertently shows her natural rudeness and is duly punished by having toads leap from her mouth. She meets a miserable death, while her sister marries a prince.

The only essential difference of the two tales consists in the ending of Grimm No. 13, which contains the very common folklore motif of the ugly sister's substitution for the beautiful

[3] By J. Bolte and G. Polivka. Leipzig, 1913–18, I, 215 (Grimm No. 24).

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bride. This is due to a contamination with a different type of fairy tale, represented by Grimm Nos. 11, 89 and 135.[4]

An influence of *Les fées* on *Die drei Männlein im Walde* is virtually certain, if we take into consideration that the exact manner of the reward and punishment as related in Perrault occurs in no other German variant.[5] Our assumption can, therefore, not be refuted by contending that the motif itself is not infrequent in folklore, and that it is already contained, in part and in a somewhat different form, in Basile's *Pentamerone*, IV, 7, where the heroine breathes roses and jasmin and has pearls fall out of her hair.

All other German versions of our fairy tale[6] are closely related to *Frau Holle*, without showing any traceable connection with *Les fées*. The German parallels to Grimm No. 13[7] agree with Grimm as to the main motifs, while diverging from both Grimm and Perrault in their account of the method of reward and punishment. *Die drei Männlein im Walde*, therefore, appears to be the only German version which was influenced by the French tale.

II. *La belle au bois dormant*

The task of tracing the influence of *La belle au bois dormant* on German folklore is made comparatively easy by the fact that there exists only one German parallel to this Perrault tale, i.e., the well-known *Dornröschen* (Grimm No. 50). For Bechstein's and Dähnhardt's versions are doubtless derived directly from Grimm.[8] The same is the case with two German folksongs, to be found in Kretschmer-Zuccalmaglio's and in Böhme's collections.[8] The only remaining German variant, No. 41 of Jahn's Pomeranian stories,[8] is obviously a combination of Grimm's *Dornröschen* with Grimm No. 55.

[4] This contamination may have taken place at a comparatively early time. For the same motif appears already in a sixteenth century story, i.e., in the ending of the tenth story of the third day in Basile's *Pentamerone*.

[5] R. Köhler, in *Kleinere Schriften*, Weimar, 1898, I, 126–7, investigates this motif. His list of parallels does not mention any Germanic version of *Les fées* which contains the motif.

[6] Cf. Bolte-Polivka, I, 207ff.

[7] Cf. Bolte-Polivka, I, 99ff.

[8] Cf. Bolte-Polivka, I, 434.

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Owing to lack of space, we can quote below merely a selection of the many striking verbal agreements of the two tales, which, in certain passages, make Grimm No. 50 appear almost like a translation of Perrault.

During a festival, arranged by a king and queen to celebrate the birth of a princess, a fairy who had not been invited pronounces a curse upon the child. Another fairy tries to mitigate the curse. The stories read:

Perrault

. . . je n'ai pas assez de puissance pour défaire entièrement ce que mon ancienne a fait: la princesse se percera la main d'un fuseau; mais au lieu d'en mourir, elle tombera seulement dans un profond sommeil qui durera cent ans—Le roi pour tâcher d'éviter le malheur annoncé par la vieille, fit publier aussitôt un édit par lequel il défendait à toutes personnes de filer au fuseau. Au bout de quinze ou seize ans, le roi et la reine étant allés à une de leur maisons de plaisance, il arriva que la jeune princesse, courant un jour dans le château, et montant de chambre en chambre, alla jusqu'au haut d'un donjon, dans un petit galetas où une bonne vieille était seule à filer sa quenouille.

"Que faites-vous là, ma bonne femme? dit la princesse, —Je file, ma belle enfant, lui répondit la vieille . . . j'en ferais bien autant." Elle n'eut pas plutôt pris le fuseau, que, comme elle était fort vive, un peu étourdie, et que d'ailleurs l'arrêt des fées l'ordonnait ain-

Grimm No. 50 [9]

. . . weil sie den bösen Spruch nicht aufheben sondern nur mildern konnte, so sagte sie: „es soll aber kein Tod sein, sondern ein hundertjähriger tiefer Schlaf, in welchen die Königstochter fällt."

Der König, der sein liebes Kind vor dem Unglück gern bewahren wollte, ließ den Befehl ausgehen, daß alle Spindeln im ganzen Königreiche sollten verbrannt werden . . .

Es geschah, daß an dem Tage, wo es grade funfzehn Jahre alt war, der König und die Königin nicht zu Haus waren, und das Mädchen . . . . . besah Stuben und Kammern . . . saß da in einem kleinen Stübchen eine alte Frau mit einer Spindel und spann emsig ihren Flachs. „Guten Tag, du altes Mütterchen," sprach die Königstochter, „was machst du da?" „Ich spinne," sagte die Alte und nickte mit dem Kopf. „Was ist das für ein Ding, das so lustig herumspringt?" sprach das Mädchen, nahm die Spindel und wollte auch spin-

[9] Not having been able to obtain the 1812 edition, I quote the text of the edition of 1857.

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si, elle s'en perça la main et tomba évanouie.

nen. Kaum aber hatte sie die Spindel angerührt, so ging der Zauberspruch in Erfüllung, und sie stach sich damit in den Finger.

Both stories continue in an almost identical manner, telling of the profound sleep that overcame all inhabitants of the castle; of the hedge that grew around it; and of the arrival of the rescuer after a hundred years. While, however, *Dornröschen* ends with the marriage of princess and rescuer, Perrault's tale goes on, relating that later the princess and her two children *Aurore* and *Jour* were cruelly persecuted by the prince's mother, who was an ogress.

The only essential point of divergence in Grimm's tale is the omission of this continuation. On the strength of this fact, it has been contended that Grimm No. 50 embodies an independent Germanic tradition of our fairy tale. Petsch,[10] e.g., argues that *Dornröschen* is not the only variant that gives the shorter version. It is true that Bolte-Polivka [11] list six parallels, a French, a Croatian, a Greek and three Russian tales, which close with the wedding of the rescued maiden and her deliverer. However, in all other respects, these stories are very remote from both Grimm and Perrault. Moreover, they were recorded such a long time after Grimm's *Märchen* that they may quite well represent degenerate derivatives of *Dornröschen* itself.

It is significant that all remaining versions, including the earliest ones, tell a longer story than Grimm and are, at the same time, much more closely related to Perrault than are the six variants quoted above.[12]

Thimme [13] and Rutgers [14] are hardly justified in maintaining that the last part of *La belle* is an unmotivated continuation.

[10] In *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, XLII, 80 ff.

[11] *Op. cit.*, I, 437.

[12] The tale first appears in the *Perceforest*, a French prose novel of the fourteenth century. The hero has to go through an enchanted sleep himself and has to conquer a rival before he is united with the princess. Concerning other early variants, see Bolte-Polivka.

[13] Cf. *Das Märchen*, p. 97.

[14] Cf. *Märchen und Sage*, Dissertation, Groningen, 1923, p. 69.

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For the mother of the prince simply takes the part which in an older version [15] was played by his wife, who certainly did *not* lack a motive for the persecution. The motif of jealousy is, however, by no means the original one. There can be no doubt that in the original version of our folk-tale the children were to be killed because they were twins. As J. Rendel Harris [16] has pointed out, the fear of twins was found among all Aryan and Semitic peoples, as well as among the natives of Africa. To this day, many African tribes regard the birth of twins as an evil omen.

The frequent occurrence in folklore of the motif of the fiendish mother-in-law does, therefore, not permit us to infer that the end of Perrault's tale is an inorganic addition. Moreover, this ending must originally have been taken over by German folklore with the rest of the Perrault story; for we find it in the Bruchstück No. 5 in the Grimm collection.[17] This fragment shows such a striking conformity with the end of *La belle* that there cannot be any doubt about its derivation.[18]

Apart from the ending and the minor difference between Perrault's more artful and slightly ironical style and Grimm's more simple and childlike manner of rendering the story, the French and the German tales are so utterly alike that Grimm's story must be considered a mutilated transmission of *La belle*. The two tales are the only versions (excepting one of the Russian variants quoted above) that contain the motifs of the magic sleep which overtakes all inmates of the castle, and of the hedge that grows around the palace. A Breton tale [19] in

[15] Such a version is found in the story "Sole, Luna e Talia" in Basile's *Pentamerone*, V, 5, the ending of which agrees completely with that of *La belle*, except for the fact that the fiendish woman appears as the rescuer's wife.

[16] *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, Cambridge, University Press, 1906.

[17] Cf. Bolte-Polivka, III, 488.

[18] There is no trace of the tale in Germany before the time of the Grimms. The mere mention of the name in the title of Gryphius' play *Die geliebte Dornrose* of 1660 does not warrant any conclusions. Few will still share the view of the Grimms, who regarded *Dornröschen* as a degenerative derivative of the Valkyrie story in the Sigrdrifumǫl; and the assumption that this Germanic legend was influenced by a fairy tale of the *Dornröschen* type is at least highly doubtful, as Panzer has shown in *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte*, Munich, 1912, II, 136. In Europe the tale obviously was first known in Romance territory, whatever its ultimate source may be.

[19] Cf. Spiller, *Zur Geschichte des Märchens vom Dornröschen*, Frauenfeld, 1893, p. 18.

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which a thorn bush plays a prominent part is apparently more closely connected with Grimm No. 31 than with *Dornröschen*.

Grimm and Perrault furthermore agree in relating the immediate awakening of the sleeping princess at the arrival of her rescuer, while in the *Perceforest* and the *Pentamerone* she does not wake up until she has borne a child to her rescuer. Lastly, the Grimm version has preserved, in conformity with Perrault, the story of the fairy who is angered because of a missing favor. This motif occurs already in the *Perceforest*, where one of the three goddesses, invited to the festival, does not find any knife at her place.[20]

We may safely conclude that *Dornröschen* was embodied in German folklore for the first time in consequence of the wide dissemination of Perrault's *contes* in Western and Central Europe.

III. *Cendrillon*

The Cinderella type belongs to the most widely cultivated fairy tales in existence.[20a] It is closely related to *Peau d'âne*, treated under IV. Both types count among a group of stories that can be divided, according to the method of Bolte-Polivka[21], into the following main motifs:

A1, She is maltreated by her step-mother and step-sisters, or
A2, she flees in a disfiguring disguise from her father, who wants to marry her.
B1, While doing menial work, she receives aid from her dead mother, from a tree on her mother's grave,
B2, from a supernatural being, or
B3, from birds.
C1, Magnificently dressed, she dances several times with a prince, who vainly tries to retain her.
C2, She alludes to the abuse she endured while a servant.
C3, The prince beholds her in her chamber, donning beautiful raiment, or he sees her in church.

[20] It is true, however, that this motif is not infrequently found in folk-tales; it appears even in Icelandic stories. Cf. Dr. Konrad Maurer, *Isländische Volkssagen der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1860, p. 285, 287.

[20a] Cf. Miss M. R. Cox, *Cinderella, Three Hundred and Forty-five Variants*, London, 1893.

[21] I, 168; the above tabulation differs from that of Bolte-Polivka chiefly in the subdivision of B.

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D1, She is discovered by a shoe-test, or
D2, by a ring which she puts in the food of the prince.
E, She marries the prince.

Perrault's *Cendrillon* is composed of the motifs A1, B2, C1, D1, E, while the best known German parallel, the *Aschenputtel*, Grimm No. 21, consists of A1, B1, B3, C1, D1, E. Grimm is altogether different from Perrault in all details, and contains numerous incidents and digressions not found in *Cendrillon*. The only two Germanic variants [22] which, like Perrault, show the sequence A1, B2, C1, D1, E are Meier's *Aschengrittel* [23] and Zingerle's *Die drei Schwestern*.[24]

Meier No. 4 differs from Grimm, and is brought somewhat closer to Perrault by the omission of the motifs B1 and B3. The heroine is aided by a dwarf, whose part resembles that of the fairy in *Cendrillon*. The story, furthermore, omits several incidents of the Grimm tale, such as the stories of the pigeon house, the pear trees, and the stepsisters' punishment. Aschengrittel is denied permission to go to the ball without first having to perform a futile task. In all other respects, however, Meier No. 4 follows Grimm, embodying even the story of the father's journey.[25]

The German version which most closely resembles Perrault is Zingerle's tale. Both stories proceed in the same simple, straightforward manner, telling that the heroine was left at home to do menial work while her sisters went to the ball. A fairy—according to Zingerle, an angel—provides her with splendid finery and sends her to the ball, where the prince is greatly impressed by her. She manages to disappear unnoticed.

The stories continue as follows:

[22] The tale No. 23 in Bondeson's *Svenska Folk-Sagor*, Stockholm, 1880, which consists of the same sequence, is a direct derivative of *Cendrillon*. This is not surprising; for a translation of the French story was published in Stockholm as early as 1787 under the title *Sagan om Ask-fis, eller den lilla Glas-Toffelen*.

[23] No. 4 in E. Meier's *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus Schwaben*, Stuttgart, 1852.

[24] *Kinder- und Hausmärchen aus Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1852 and 1911, p. 130 ff.

[25] This incident, by the way, does not appear in the first Grimm edition of 1812. It was added later from a different version.

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Perrault	Zingerle
On the third day she *loses*, during her hasty retreat, *one of her glass-slippers*. The prince picks it up, proclaiming that he will wed its owner. In vain the *shoe is tried on all the ladies of the court* and on the step-sisters. They mock at Cendrillon, *dissuading her from putting on the slipper; but the emissary of the prince insists*. The shoe fits, and Cendrillon *is taken to the prince as his bride.*	On the last evening she is pursued by the king's servants. She scatters gold to detain them and *drops her slipper*, which is brought to the king. He orders it *to be tried on every girl in town.* The older sisters attempt a fraud, but the deception is revealed by birds. *The king's messenger makes the heroine put on the slipper in spite of the sisters' protests.* Seeing she is the right bride, he *conducts her to the king, whom she weds.*

The deception attempted by the heroine's sisters and the warning by birds, contained in Zingerle's tale, are obviously incidents which are drawn from the Grimm version. The scattering of gold by the heroine is an extraneous feature. All the rest of the story agrees more closely with Perrault than with Grimm. This conformity is made the more significant by the fact that Zingerle's collection also contains a parallel to Perrault's *Peau d'âne*—a parallel which shows the same affinity to Perrault regarding the motif of supernatural help. The prominence of the fairies is peculiar to French folklore. We also find there quite frequently the substitution of angels or the Virgin Mary for the fairies. This makes it most probable that *Cendrillon* influenced Zingerle's *Die drei Schwestern*, notwithstanding the fact that the Tyrolese tale is somewhat deformed in that the heroine does not bear the name of "Cinderella" or a German equivalent, but is called merely "Else."

IV. *Peau d'âne*

Peau d'âne is composed of the motifs A2, B2, C3, D2, E, according to the tabulation under III. The tale differs from the Cinderella type in the beginning, which relates the flight of the heroine from her father, who wants to marry her, and in the recognition scene, which is effected, not by a shoe but by a ring. Most of the German parallels to *Peau d'âne* lack the important

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motif A2. Moreover, other essential divergences from Perrault are found in all these variants except one—Zingerle No. 2, which contains the motifs B2, C3, D2, E.

Only four German versions show the motif A2. Two of these, Bartsch's *Aschenpüster*[26] and Vernaleken No. 33,[27] contain the motif C2 and deviate from Perrault also in other respects. The two remaining variants are Grimm's *Allerleirauh* and a story in Lemke's collection.[28] *Allerleirauh*, Grimm No. 65, consists of A2, C1, D2, E.

In the beginning Grimm's tale is virtually identical with *Peau d'âne*. Both stories tell that a king promised his dying wife he would never marry again unless he found a woman whose beauty equalled hers. Perceiving the resemblance of his daughter to her dead mother, he decided to make her his wife. In order to prevent it, the maiden first demanded several robes colored like the stars of heaven. When she had received these, she asked, according to Perrault, for the skin of a gold-producing ass—according to Grimm, for a cloak made out of a thousand different kinds of fur. All her wishes having been granted, she resolved to flee. She blackened her face and hands, donned her ass's skin or cloak, and left her father's castle.

In Perrault's version the heroine is assisted by her fairy godmother, whereas in Grimm supernatural aid is merely hinted at in a passage where we are told that the heroine packed all her beautiful dresses into a nutshell. But despite this minor divergence there can be no doubt that the beginning of *Allerleirauh* goes back to Perrault. For Grimm No. 65 is the only German variant which contains the motif of the promise exacted by the dying queen.

The latter part of the Grimm tale deviates considerably from *Peau d'âne*. The meeting of heroine and king which takes place at three consecutive festivals clearly shows a contamination with the Cinderella type of story. The account of the recognition, likewise, is repeated three times. Allerleirauh puts, in

[26] K. Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg*, Vienna, 1879.

[27] Th. Vernaleken, *Österreichische Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Vienna, 1892.

[28] *Volkstümliches aus Ostpreußen*, Allenstein, 1899, II, p. 214. The tale is apparently a derivative of Grimm No. 65.

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the food of the king, first her ring, then her spinning-wheel, and, on the last day, her gold reel.

The beginning of Zingerle No. 2, *Cistl im Körbl*, has very little in common with either Perrault or Grimm, except for the fact that the part of a mysterious hunter who provides the heroine with beautiful robes resembles the rôle of the fairy in *Peau d'âne*. But in its latter part the Tyrolese story follows Perrault much more closely than Grimm No. 65 does.

The two tales relate that the heroine became a lowly and despised servant in a castle. On the first Sunday the master happened to see her in her sun-colored dress and fell in love with her. After returning to the castle, he fell ill and no doctor could cure him. The heroine baked a cake for him, dropping a ring into it, by means of which she was recognised. The master became well again and made her his wife.

If we consider the striking agreement of details, we can hardly doubt that *Peau d'âne* has influenced Zingerle No. 2. *Cistl im Körbl* is, moreover, the only German version containing, in conformity with Perrault, the motif C3—that is to say, the only variant in which the meeting of heroine and prince is not told according to the version of the Cinderella tale. Both Zingerle and Grimm agree to a great extent with Perrault regarding the nature and color of the heroine's dresses.

Peau d'âne has belonged among the most popular French folk-tales [29] since very early times, whereas it is not traceable in German tradition before the time of Musaeus' collection, which was published in 1787.[30]

V. *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge*

There exist five German parallels to *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge*, which are all extremely similar to Perrault's tale. *Rotkäppchen*, Grimm No. 26, is by far the earliest on record and shows an almost literal conformity with Perrault, except for

[29] *Peau d'âne* is said to be derived from the tale I, 4 in Straparola's *Le piacevoli notti;* but the first trace of it appears in the *nouvelle* 129 of Des Perier's *Nouvelles récréations* of 1558.

[30] Musaeus drew on *Peau d'âne* in one of his highly artificial fairy tales, *Die Nymphe des Brunnens*, in *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* (reprint, Berlin, 1908).

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the ending. Since the four later German variants [21] agree with Grimm and diverge from Perrault regarding the end of the story, it is very probable that they are derived from Grimm. At any rate, a connection between the Perrault and the Grimm versions is irrefutable, as a synopsis of the original texts will prove, which unfortunately can be given here only in part.

Perrault

Il était une petite fille de village, la plus jolie qu'on eût su voir; sa mère en était folle, et sa mère-grand plus folle encore. Cette bonne femme lui fit faire un petit chaperon rouge qui lui seyait si bien que partout on l'appelait le Petit Chaperon Rouge. Un jour sa mère, ayant fait et cuit des galettes, lui dit:

"Va voir comment se porte ta mère-grand, car on m'a dit qu'elle était malade. Porte-lui une galette et ce petit pot de beurre."

Grimm No. 26

Es war einmal eine süße kleine Dirne, die hatte jedermann lieb, der sie nur ansah, am allerliebsten aber ihre Großmutter, die wußte garnicht was sie alles dem Kinde geben sollte. Einmal schenkte sie ihm ein Käppchen von rotem Sammt, und weil ihm das so wohl stand,—hieß es nur das Rotkäppchen. Eines Tages sprach seine Mutter zu ihm: „Komm, da hast du ein Stück Kuchen und eine Flasche Wein, bring das der Großmutter hinaus; sie ist krank und schwach—

The two tales continue in well nigh literal conformity, the most striking agreement of all occurring in the conversation of the little girl with the wolf who impersonates the grandmother. The passage, which represents an almost exact translation, reads as follows:

"Ma mère-grand, que vous avez de grandes oreilles!—C'est pour mieux écouter, mon enfant.

"Ma mère-grand, que vous avez de grands yeux!—C'est pour mieux voir, mon enfant.

"Ma mère-grand, que vous

„Ei, Großmutter, was hast du für große Ohren!" „Daß ich dich besser hören kann."

„Ei, Großmutter, was hast du für große Augen!" „Daß ich dich besser sehen kann."

„Aber Großmutter, was hast

[21] *Rotkäppchen* in L. Bechstein's *Deutsches Märchenbuch*, Leipzig, 1874, and in J. Kehrein's *Volkssprache und Volkssitte im Herzogtum Nassau*, Weilburg, 1862, Wirth's *Rautkappl* in *Archiv für die Geschichte von Oberfranken*, XX, 229, and a Tyrolese tale in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, X, 415.

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avez de grandes dents!—C'est pour mieux te manger."

Et en disant ces mots, le méchant loup se jeta sur le Petit Chaperon Rouge et le mangea.

du für ein entsetzlich großes Maul!" „*Daß ich dich besser fressen kann.*"

Kaum hatte der Wolf das gesagt, so tat er einen Satz aus dem Bette und verschlang das arme Rotkäppchen.

At this point Perrault's tale ends, while Grimm No. 26 continues, relating that a hunter who happened to pass looked in, saw the wolf, cut his body open, and found the grandmother and the girl still alive. They then filled the wolf with stones, so that he broke down and died when he tried to escape. Grimm also tells a second version of the ending, according to which the wolf does not eat the old woman or the girl but is outwitted by the grandmother and drowned.

The end of the *Rotkäppchen* may be merely an anorganic addition to the tale, caused by a contamination with the Grimm story No. 5, which ends in an almost identical manner. The fact that Grimm found a second version seems to justify the conclusion that the continuation was not yet firmly connected with the tale. On the other hand, Perrault may have reported a mutilated variant. This assumption is also quite plausible; for, as A. Lang pointed out in *Custom and Myth* (p. 53), folk-tales of this type are probably related to the Greek myth of Cronos, who ate his own children and disgorged them again after a stone had been given him in place of Zeus.

However that may be, there are so many passages in Grimm's version that agree verbally with the French tale that we are forced to assume that *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge* became by oral transmission the direct source of Grimm's *Rotkäppchen*.

VI. *Les souhaits ridicules*

Les souhaits ridicules belongs to a well-known type of tale, in which a supernatural being promises to one or more persons the fulfilment of a certain number of wishes. The wishes are all granted, but owing to the thoughtlessness of those who express them they bring no profit at all. The only German version that agrees with Perrault's rhymed story regarding the

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number and exact nature of the wishes is the tale "Drei Wünsche" in J. P. Hebel's *Schatzkästlein*, which was first published in 1811.

The two stories run as follows:

Perrault

To a poor woodcutter Jupiter granted three wishes. While his wife was preparing supper the man, in his thoughtlessness, remarked he would like a sausage of a yard's length. Immediately the sausage appeared from out the chimney. The woman angered the man so much with her reproaches that he shouted:

"Plût à Dieu, maudite pécore, Qu'il te pendît au bout du nez!"

A poor man and his wife were permitted by a fairy to express three wishes. Without thinking of the fairy's gift, the woman wished for a sausage to go with their supper. No sooner had she spoken than the sausage came down the chimney. Seeing one of the precious wishes wasted, the irate husband exclaimed:

„Wenn dir doch nur die Wurst an der Nase angewachsen wäre!"

Both tales end alike, relating that after due deliberation the man employed the remaining wish to remove the sausage from his wife's nose.

In *Les souhaits ridicules* the man utters all three wishes,[22] while in Hebel's version it is the woman who wastes the first wish. This is the only essential point of divergence. It is easy to account for the substitution of the fairy for Jupiter, a figure altogether unfamiliar to German popular tradition.

In the numerous variants to our folk-tale the nature of the wishes varies greatly. This is a matter of course. For if a person is at liberty to procure himself anything on earth, there is certainly not the slightest necessity that he should wish for a yard's length of sausage. If, therefore, two versions agree in this point, it can be considered as irrefutable evidence that the tales are related. Hebel's *Drei Wünsche* is doubtless derived from *Les souhaits ridicules*. This seems all the more plausible, if we take into consideration that Hebel was well read in French literature and that he was an ardent admirer of France.

[22] Bédier's rendition of Perrault's story in his tabulation in *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, 1925, p. 217, is incorrect regarding this point.

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Conclusion

Only two of Perrault's eleven stories have left no ascertainable traces in German folklore: namely, *Grisélidis*, which Perrault avowedly drew from Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, and *Riquet à la houppe*, for which there exist only two parallels in all.[33] The following table will summarize the result of our investigation. It includes also those stories whose influence on German popular tradition is already more or less known; that is to say, *Le petit poucet*, *La barbe bleue*, and *Le chat botté*, which, owing to limited space, could not be treated here in detail.

Perrault's tale	is the only source of	influenced
Les fées		Grimm No. 13
La belle au bois	Grimm No. 50	
Cendrillon		Zingerle's *Drei Schwestern*
Peau d'âne		Grimm No. 65; Zingerle No. 2
Le petit chaperon	Grimm No. 26	
Les souhaits	Hebel's *Drei Wünsche*	
Le petit poucet	Bechstein's *Der kleine Däumling*[34]	Grimm No. 15[35]
La barbe bleue	Grimm, 1812, No. 62;[36] Bechstein's *Vom Ritter Blaubart*[37]	Bechstein's *Drei Bräute;* Meier's *König Blaubart;* Weddigen-Hartmann, p. 199[38]
Le chat botté	Grimm, 1812, No. 33[36]	

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[33] One French and one Hungarian variant; cf. Otto Meier, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, V, 122, and A. F. Doerfler, *ibidem*, VI, 393.

[34] Pointed out by Gaston Paris, *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, I, 394.

[35] This was known already to the Grimms. Cf. Bolte-Polivka, I, 115.

[36] Purposely omitted from the later editions because of the obvious identity with Perrault's tale.

[37] Cf. Bolte-Polivka, I, 407.

[38] The story in Weddigen-Hartmann's *Sagenschatz Westfalens*, 1884, p. 199, and Bechstein's and Meier's tales are all contaminated with Grimm No. 46; Meier's story is, moreover, influenced by Grimm No. 40. Cf. Bolte-Polivka, I, p. 407, and J. A. MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905, p. 308.

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UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF LUDWIG TIECK TO FRIEDRICH VON RAUMER

CONTRIBUTED BY EDWIN H. ZEYDEL AND PERCY MATENKO

THE relations of Ludwig Tieck and Friedrich von Raumer were recently discussed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.[1] The study was based primarily upon the correspondence of the two men as published in Raumer's *Lebenserinnerungen und Briefwechsel*[2] and *Literarischer Nachlaß*.[3] Meanwhile there have become accessible to the writers certain additional materials, comprising eight wholly unpublished letters from Tieck to Raumer, and the complete text of six others which had been published only in part in LB II. The manuscripts of seven of the former and all of the latter are in the possession of the Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, with the kind permission of which they are here published; the original of the other letter (the eighth) is in the possession of E. H. Zeydel.[3a]

I

THE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

We shall publish first the eight new letters.

1

The first, dated Ziebingen, June 16, 1816, belongs chronologically between the first Tieck letter of March 30, 1815, and the second of December 31, 1817, as published in LB I, 279, and LB II, 77, respectively. Shortly before it was written Raumer had returned from a "wissenschaftliche Reise."[4] He was now making ready for a similar but more extended journey which was to take him to Switzerland and Italy. In his "Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben" he mentions his stay in Italy. He speaks of "eine Herbstreise nach Venedig . . . über welche ein gedrucktes Büchlein[5] Rechenschaft gibt. Dieser Einblick in Italien erhöhte den Wunsch, das

[1] E. H. Zeydel, "Ludwig Tieck and Friedrich von Raumer," *PMLA*, XLIII, 3, pp. 863–893.

[2] In 2 Teilen, Leipzig, 1861. Hereafter the 1. Teil will be referred to as LB I, and the 2. Teil as LB II.

[3] Vol. II, Berlin, 1869. This work will hereafter be referred to as LN.

[3a] Tieck's letters are printed literally just as they appear in the manuscript, without change in orthography except that the digraph ß has been normalized throughout. A few very common abbreviations have been resolved, such as u(nd), d(ie)se.

[4] Cf. the letter of Count Hardenberg to Raumer, December 15, 1815, LB I, 282.

[5] *Die Herbstreise nach Venedig*, Berlin, 1816.

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Land kennen zu lernen, und noch mehr ergaben meine Arbeiten für die Geschichte der Hohenstaufen die Notwendigkeit, nach Büchern und Handschriften umherzureisen. Eine Unterstützung von 1500 Thalern, welche mir der König auf den Antrag der Freiherren von Hardenberg und von Schuckmann bewilligte, ermöglichte das Unternehmen, und die Teilnahme gewisser Freunde, von Hagen und von Lattorf, vermehrte Annehmlichkeit und Genuß" (LB I, 251). On this trip, which lasted about a year, Raumer bore a letter of introduction from Hardenberg to the Prussian ministers and consuls in those countries (LB, p. 1). Apparently he had requested Tieck to furnish him with similar letters to acquaintances that Tieck might have made upon his Italian journey in 1806. Tieck's reply, though written ten years after his own visit to Italy, is interesting because it contains some of his impressions. Raumer lived in Breslau until 1819.

ZIEBINGEN, den 16t Juni [18]16.

Mein theuerster Freund; so lange schon bin ich Ihnen Antworten auf Ihre lieben Briefe schuldig, und daß Sie mein Verschieben, dieses mein Laster, so großmüthig vergeben, macht mich um so mehr zu dem Ihrigen. Wie sehr habe ich mich mit Ihnen Ihrer ersten Reise gefreut, und nun steht Ihnen eine noch schönere bevor. Briefe kann ich Ihnen aber nicht mitgeben, auch weiß ich aus eigener Erfahrung, daß dergleichen weit mehr für den wahren einsichtigen Reisenden lästig als hülfreich sind, man verliehrt nur Zeit, auch hat sich seit den zehn Jahren meiner Entfernung das Personal allenthalben verändert, ich bin mit Niemand in Correspondenz geblieben, und Künstler sind allenthalben die zugänglichsten Menschen, die große und vornehme Gesellschaft werden Sie mehr vermeiden, als suchen, die unterrichteten Menschen findet man dort, vorzüglich in Italien, am seltensten, oder die leere Form und das liebenswürdige Ceremonial der dortigen Gesellschaft erlaubt Ihnen wenigstens nicht, sich in ihr mitzutheilen. Die wahren, unterrichtenden Menschen werden auch dort die Einsameren seyn, die sich dem Geschwätz entziehen. Mir war in historischer Hinsicht immer das Volk, die Mittelklasse, Caffeehäuser, Spielsäle, Carneval und Festins, der Mittelstand, ja selbst die gemeine Masse in ihren Stimmungen und Hofnungen am interessantesten. Öffentlichen Gemeingeist giebt es nach meiner Beobachtung in Italien gar nicht, aber wohl Provinzial-, Stadtsinn, oft fanatisch, gemein, hie und wieder treflich, wahr-

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haft bürgerlich, scharf und edel. Aber keine Provinz, kaum eine Stadt will von der andern etwas wissen; die Carikatur von Deutschland. Die Italiänischen Cosmopoliten sind zugleich die faden Atheisten, plump dem französischen Stil nachgearbeitet, und die misanthropen, finstern Alfieris, deren es in allen Städten viele giebt, sind leere Phantasten für eine unmögliche Freiheit, für ein albernes Phantom, die unwissenden Vernichter einer jeden Gegenwart, und diesen unerquicklichsten aller Geschöpfe bin ich immer weit aus dem Wege gegangen. Versäumen Sie die Theater nicht. Im Lustspiel sieht man oft etwas Vollendetes, ich habe trefliche Schauspieler kennen gelernt. In Parma müssen Sie die ganze Größe Correggios bewundern, und darum ja nicht diese Stadt umgehn, wie so viele thun. In Bologna sehn Sie hauptsächlich noch Francesco Francia (Raebolini), einen meiner liebsten Mahler, nach meiner Meinung den Lehrer des Correggio. In Piacenza werden Sie von der Sixtinischen Maria[6] (die Doledersche) selbst in der mittelmäßigen Logie durch das Lokal ergriffen werden:—doch das Bekannte und Schöne werden Sie selbst auffinden. Meine Reise, zu der mich meine Krankheit trieb, war vorzüglich den Gallerien, und der alten Kunst gewidmet. In Monaten lernt man Julio Romanos Grösse kennen. In Inspruk finden Sie trefliche Bronzen altdeutscher Kunst in der Capuziner Kirche. Und welche Berge in Tyrol! Herrlicher als alles, was ich sah.

Mich freut es, daß ich Ihre Vorlesungen[7] mir noch so lange behalten darf, ich werde Sie wieder und wieder lesen, und Ihnen mein Urtheil, so ungeschickt es auch ausfallen dürfte, unverholen mittheilen, doch auch mein Lob müssen Sie sich gefallen lassen, wenn Sie billig seyn wollen. Ich schreibe Ihnen vielleicht einen kleinen Aufsatz über den Standpunkt in der Geschichte, denn hierinn kann ich vielleicht das Hauptsächlichste widerlegen, was mich wohl hie und da gestört hat. Ich glaube auch, daß wir hier am entferntesten stehn. Aber wie viele Seiten schienen mir treflich und meisterhaft!

Nehmen Sie auch mit diesem schlechten aber gut gemeinten

[6] A copy by Avanzini, which replaced Raphael's famous madonna, which was originally painted for the San Sisto in Piacenza.

[7] At this time Raumer had not published any of his lectures. He had probably sent them to Tieck in manuscript.

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Briefe vorlieb. Könnten Sie mir denn nicht Einiges von Ihren Arbeiten, besonders über das Mittelalter, zum Aufheben anvertrauen, für das Jahr Ihrer Abwesenheit? Wie dankbar würde ich Ihnen seyn! Ich habe Hagen[8] denselben Vorschlag gethan; meine Begierde zu lernen ist zugleich meine Tugend und mein Laster, denn sie hindert mich oft am Arbeiten. Treiben Sie Hagen mir ja zu senden, was er von mir auch hat, sonst komme ich in vielfache Verlegenheit.

Erfüllen Sie meine Bitte, reisen Sie glücklich, gedenken Sie mir die Treue und einen frohen Genuß eines Freundes, der Ihre Bekanntschaft zu den erfreulichsten zählt, kehren Sie uns wohl und froh zurück, und erhalten Sie in Ihrer Freundschaft.

Der Ihrige

L. Tieck.

Meine Grüße an Steffens[9] und seine Frau, wir sind hier alle sehr betrübt, daß er Ostern nicht gekommen ist.

2

Our second letter, dated May 2, 1825, finds its logical place between the letters from Raumer to Tieck of January 13, 1825 (LB II, 183), and July 21, 1825 (LB II, 188), although there is no relation in content. Raumer had recently returned to Berlin from a visit to Tieck in Dresden. The Raumer letter to which Tieck refers and which apparently told of hardships suffered by Raumer during a recent storm, seems to be lost. In 1819 Tieck had moved from Ziebingen to Dresden and Raumer from Breslau to Berlin. During the nine years lying between our first and second letters the friendship of the two men became closer and warmer. Raumer's sense of indebtedness to Tieck, here referred to, is mentioned also in Raumer's "Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben," where he gives credit to those who helped him with his *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit* (6 vols., 1823–1825) after his return from Italy. He speaks of his friend Manso "und nicht minder die ermunternden Weisungen Tiecks, dieses geliebten, treuen, fürs ganze Leben gewonnenen Freundes" (LB I, 255). References to the purchase of rare books at auctions, etc., such as we find in this letter, abound in Tieck's correspondence.

[8] The reference is probably to Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (1780–1856), at this time professor of German literature in Breslau. He had come into close touch with Tieck through his edition of the Nibelungenlied, the appearance of which in 1810 prompted Tieck to abandon an edition of his own.

[9] Steffens, Henrik, 1773–1845, a Norwegian by birth, professor of natural philosophy in Breslau, later in Berlin.

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DRESDEN, den 2ten Mai. [18]25.

Mein geliebtester Freund,

Ihr Brief hat uns allen einen wahrhaft tragischen Eindruck gemacht, denn es ist zu hart, daß für eine solche Treue Ihnen dergleichen widerfahren muß. Wie schlimm kann es einem doch selbst in unseren kultivirten Staaten, und in unserer bis zur Ermattung gebändigten Natur gehn. Nebenher zitterte ich von dem Gedanken, daß bei solchem Unwetter auch Ihr Manuscript verdorben werden, oder verlohren gehn konnte. Sie danken mir? Theuerster, es giebt keinen Dank, der einer Treue, wie der Ihrigen, gleich kommen könnte. Was konnte ich Ihnen, besonders dismal, sein? Ich war auf eigne Art zerstreut, und wenn Sie sagen, Sie hätten von mir gelernt, so beliebt Ihnen das nur so,—denn wie viel habe ich im Gegenteil von Ihnen gelernt! Noch immer steht mir das glänzende weise Haupt Carls V[10] vor Augen! So muß Geschichte angestellt werden, daß uns allenthalben, wohin wir nur sehn, still und ohne Anmaßung die Bilder der Weisheit begegnen: daß wir lernen und fühlen, daß es in unser Blut übergeht, wie Maaß, Mäßigung in allen Dingen auch in den besten, die Vertreter der göttlichen Vorsehung werden, damit nicht das Schöne und Gerechte im hitzigen Anlaufe zum Bösen und Ungerechten werde. Enthusiasmus kann daher der Historiker, wie der Dichter, nicht genug haben, aber keine Leidenschaft, was auch immer verwechselt ist. Wenn er noch nicht zur Höhe der Freiheit durchgedrungen ist; wie viele es denn vom niedrigen Punkt das seltsam verschlungene Gebirge mit allen Wäldern und Flüssen verstehn und übersehn?

Aber freilich, die Anzeige[11]—ich bin beschämt, daß noch immer von ihr, wie von einer Künftigen gesprochen werden muß. Ich brauche es aber Ihnen nicht deutlich zu machen, daß diese Arbeit eine der wichtigsten und schwierigsten meines Lebens wird. Dazu war jezt, so kurtz vor meiner Reise,[12]

[10] Tieck refers to Raumer's treatment of Charles in the *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen.*

[11] The reference is to a notice of Raumer's work which Tieck was to write but did not complete.

[12] This refers to the "Kunstreise" through the German-speaking countries which Tieck, in his capacity as literary adviser, made during the spring and summer of 1825 with von Lüttichau, the director of the Dresden theater. Cf. Köpke, *Ludwig Tieck*, II, Leipzig, 1855, p. 36 ff.

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weder Zeit noch Sammlung. Sie wissen, den 8ten reise ich von hier, und komme erst Ende Juli zurück, um gleich ein Paar Tage darauf nach Teplitz [13] zu gehn. Ein großer Theil des Sommers ist also wohl für Arbeit verloren: aber meinen Sie nicht auch, daß ich auf der Reise neue Erfrischung und Begeistrung finden werde? Wenige Menschen haben von der Natur so viel, als ich, wenn ich sie auch nicht so heißhungrig suche: aber alle meine Seelenkräfte sind auf der Reise erhöht, alle meine Plane steigen in neuer Frische vor mir auf, und neue reihen sich an die alten. Ich hoffe auch einen kurzen Brief von Ihnen hier zu sehn, durch den ich erfahre, daß Sie wohl sind, daß Ihnen jenes verruchte Wetter nur am Hut und nicht am Kopfe geschadet hat. Ich ziehe daraus den richtigen Schluß, daß Sie einige Tage länger hätten bleiben und die Stürme hier abwarten sollen, dann hätten Sie erst eine recht angenehme Rückreise gehabt. Ich weiß nicht, weshalb ich die ganze Zeit eine Unruhe wegen Ihres Befindens gespürt habe, der Gedanke, daß Sie krank sind, verfolgt mich ordentlich, so sehr ich ihn auch zu entfernen strebe. Der Himmel erhalte Sie nur recht wohl und kräftig und setzen Sie Ihre schöne Arbeit recht rasch fort. Ich glaubte nicht, daß mich nach den Hohenstaufen ein Geschichtsbuch von Ihnen so begeistern könne und doch begleitet mich der Gedanke, die Vorstelungen, und die großen Bilder aus dem, was wir in diesem Jahr gelesen haben, allenthalben. Doch will sich mir nicht so, wie so oft jene ganze ältere Zeit, zu Tragödien gestalten. Spart mir der Himmel Leben und Gesundheit, so soll doch wohl auch von diesen längst entworfenen Sachen noch Manches fertig werden, welches Ihnen auch recht sein soll. Könnt' ich nur mehr Ordnung in mein Leben bringen! Ich spreche gut darüber, und folge eignen Lehren nicht.

Le Vathor hist. de Bacio [?],[14] p. 111, wofür Sie 3 rl. 8 Pf. angesezt hatten, haben Sie für 1 rl. 7 Pf. erhalten. Sehr billig, da das Werk ganz vollständig, gut erhalten, wie neu ist, 6 starke Quartanten, gut gebunden, auf gutem Papier. Der einzige von Ihren Aufträgen, der bis jezt angeschlagen ist.

[13] On account of his poor health Tieck had taken the baths in Teplitz in Bohemia almost every summer since coming to Dresden.

[14] The reading is doubtful.

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Grüßen Sie doch unsern Löbel [15] recht herzlich. Seit lange bin ich ihm schon einen Brief schuldig, er soll mir verzeihn. Mir ist es mit der Auktion sonderbar ergangen. Ich habe hier nun schon den 5ten Hans Sachs erhalten, erst vorgestern, der im Catalog nur als ein 4ter angezeigt war, der 5te war mit angebunden, ebenso habe ich schon den Valvasor von Crain,[16] 4 Bd., erstanden, auch den M e t e r e n, G e s. d. N i e d e r l.[17] Freilich wird es nun zu spät sein, soll ich die Bücher erhalten, so sind sie wohl schon erstanden.—Eben kam der Fuhrmann mit einem Paket, das ich jezt will abholen lassen. Es ist mir nicht darum bange, die Doubletten wieder los zu werden.

Die herzlichsten Grüße von uns allen. Leben Sie wohl, ich umarme Sie tausendmal.

Ihr

ergeb. Freund

L. Tieck.

3

The third letter was written fourteen months later during Tieck's summer vacation in Teplitz. It belongs between Raumer's letters of February 22, 1826, and October 30, 1826 (LB II, 201 ff.), but refers again to a lost letter of Raumer. Tieck alludes here to the possibility of Raumer's accepting a call to Munich, which was actually tendered but rejected in 1827, and to his own prospects of going to that city. In 1804 Tieck, bound for Italy, had accompanied his ailing sister to Munich, where he himself was forced by serious illness to remain longer than he had planned. Not until the summer of 1805 was he able to continue his journey southward. In the autumn of 1808 he paid another visit to Munich. He met Friedrich Jacobi there and found in him a kindred soul. But again he became ill, this time even more seriously than before, so that he could not return to Ziebingen until late in 1810. It is no wonder then that his unpleasant experiences in Munich, due in part to climate, in part to poor physical condition, and not least of all to overindulgence, had a lasting effect upon his impressions of that city. On his second visit he met the crown prince of Bavaria and numerous high Bavarian officials. This probably explains the possibility of the "Anstellung in München" to which he refers. In

[15] Johann Wilhelm Löbell, 1786–1863, later professor of history at Bonn, was still teaching at this time in the Berlin military academies. He was a close friend of Tieck.

[16] The famous *Topographia* of Carniola (Laibach, 1679–89) by Joh. Weikhard, Freiherr von Valvasor.

[17] Emanuel van Meteren, *Historien der Nederlanden en haar naburen oorlogen tot het jaar* 1612. Rev. ed., Amsterdam, 1647.

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1826 the prospect of his going to the Bavarian capital to become a professor at the university loomed once more. The offer was actually made to him in a letter of July 7 by the Bavarian minister Eduard von Schenk; cf. Holtei's *Briefe an Tieck*, III, 216 ff. Tieck had not yet received it when he wrote the following letter to Raumer, but he probably found it in Dresden when he returned on the 23rd. His non-committal reply to von Schenk, dated August 20, has also been preserved (original in Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden). That Tieck had no desire to become a university professor because he considered himself unqualified, follows clearly from our present letter. He was however willing to return to his native Berlin in another capacity, especially since the Saxon authorities were treating him in niggardly fashion, as he thought. But some fifteen years elapsed before this wish could be realized, and when it was, he owed the invitation chiefly to Raumer.[18] The warm friendship existing between Tieck and Raumer is again manifested in this letter.

[Teplitz] 15 Juli [18]26.

Auf Ihren eiligen kleinen Brief, geliebtester Freund, der mich eben so erschreckt, als erfreut und gerührt hat, eine eben so eilige, wenn auch nur kurze Antwort. Erschreckt hat mich die Möglichkeit, daß wir auf diese Weise getrennt werden könnten, und gerührt und erfreut Ihre Liebe und Freundschaft zu mir, von der ich zwar schon immer überzeugt war, von der Sie mir aber doch jezt den größten Beweis geben. Könnt ich diese Liebe nur durch etwas anders verdienen, als meinen guten Willen. Wie bin ich erfreut und beruhigt, daß Ihr Bruder[19] wieder festen Fuß faßt in der Welt, und hoffentlich doch in einem ähnlichen Wirkungskreise, als in seinem früheren. Um nun gleich auf die Hauptsache zu kommen, um welche Sie mich fragen, so beantworte ich diese vorzüglich, aber in der Voraussetzung, daß alles, was ich Ihnen sage, für jezt noch zwischen uns b e i d e n ein Geheimnis bleibt, wie ich denn

[18] Cf. Zeydel in *PMLA*, *loc. cit.*, 888–889.

[19] Karl von Raumer, a geologist and geographer, born 1783, was two years younger than Friedrich. He moved to Breslau in 1811, then held a professorship in Halle from 1819–1823. From there he went to the Dittmar Academy in Nürnberg. In 1827 he became professor of natural history at Erlangen. The wives of Tieck and Karl von Raumer were related by marriage. In the Preußische Staatsbibliothek there is an unpublished letter from Tieck in Ziebingen to Karl in Breslau, written on March 31, 1815. In it Tieck introduces his nephew Gustav Waagen, who thereupon made his home with Karl. This letter will be published in a forthcoming collection of Tieck letters.

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auch von dem Punkt Ihres Briefes, der mich betrifft, selbst den meinigen nichts gesagt habe, weil man nicht weiß, wie ein ungefähres, verlohrnes Wort schaden, oder die Sache verderben kann. Schon vor vielen Jahren war mir eine Anstelung in München (1808) fast gewiß, auf die ich aber nicht einging, oder keinen Schritt entgegen that, aus Gründen, die zu weitläufig sind, Ihnen jezt auseinander zu setzen. Mit Mongelas[20] und Geheimrath Schenk ging diese Möglichkeit wieder verlohren. Lange nachher hörte ich hin und wieder, man denke noch an mich, und so ward ein Gespräch über die Möglichkeit meiner Anstelung im vorigen Jahre, als ich dort war, wieder erneuert. Auch erhielt ich nachher einen Brief über diesen Gegenstand, den ich nur oberflächlich und im Allgemeinen beantwortete. Kommt mir jezt ein solcher Antrag, so solle er mir sehr erwünscht sein, und umso mehr, umso vortheilhafter und ehrenvoller er ist; aber nur, um in Dresden zu bleiben, weil ich dann um so mehr ein Recht habe, darauf zu dringen, daß man mir* hält, was man mir versprochen (was bis jezt noch nicht geschehn ist) und mich durch die Zukunft fest stellt. Etwas Aehnliches kann sich auch für Sie durch einen solchen Antrag in Berlin angeben. Bietet man mir von M. aus s e h r v i e l und eine recht b e d e u t e n d e Stelle, in der ich wirken kann, so nehme ich sie doch dann an Ns!! w e n n S i e h i n g e h n, anders nicht, denn Ihr Verlust mein Freund, würde mir gewiß eben so empfindlich werden, wie Ihnen der meinige. Mit meinem Rathe habe ich mich nur im Zirkel herum gedreht, wir stehn auf demselben Platz, wo wir ausgingen. Ich melde Ihnen sogleich, in der n ä h m l i c h e n S t u n d e, wenn ich von M. etwas erfahre, und was ich thue. Gehn Sie nach München, so mögen wir kürzlich die Vortheile und Nachtheile erwägen. V o r t h e i l e: 1) Nähe von Tyrol, Salzburg, und Italien;—man kann nach Verona reisen, fast wie von Dresden nach Berlin; 2) Herrliche Bibliothek. 3) Noch treflichere Kunstschätze. (Das wäre denn auch Alles, wenn ich nicht 4) das A d e e mit rechnen will. N a c h t h e i l e: 1) Abscheuliches Nest, 2) Schlimmes Clima, 3) Schlechte Wohnungen. 4) Rohe Nation, 5) Theurung, wenigstens wie in Berlin,

[20] Count Maximilian von Montgelas, 1759–1838, a Bavarian minister.

* Here the word "Wort" is stricken out.

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ohne soviel wie dort dafür zu haben. 6) Frage, ob nicht bei dem vielen Portwein es dem Fremden wieder einmal wie zu Jacobis Zeit ergehn kann.—

Kommen S i e d o c h l i e b e r h i e h e r! Seyen Sie dann nah.—Bester Freund, es liegt ja doch nicht an mir, daß ich nicht schon seit 1819 in Berlin angestellt bin. Nur keine Professur bei der Universität. Ich bin zu alt, um noch so viel zu lernen, als ich dazu brauchte. Sie erinnern sich wohl auch, wie man mir damals die Sache recht buchstäblich ekelhaft machte, daß ich Solgers Tod [21] benutzen, mich unter dem Professor-Titel anfangs nur einschleichen, und nachher nicht sein und etwas anders werden sollte, wenn ich auf diese unwürdige Art nur erst festen Fuß gefaßt hätte. Hardenberg,[22] der mir so viel versprach, hat sich meiner auch nicht weiter erinnert, weil ich das Bitten und Erinnern nicht verstehe. Sehn Sie, was Sie vermögen. An der Akademie, beim neuen Museum, ob beim Theater eine ehrenvolle Stelung (nicht unter Esperstadt,[23] oder dgl.), m i n d e s t e n s 2 0 0 0 Thaler, und die Reisekosten, um meine Bibliothek [24] transportiren zu können,—so komme ich zu Ihnen nach Berlin, wenn man nicht etwas Ungewöhnliches für mich in Dresden thut, wozu sich die Dresdner wohl nicht entschließen könnten. Um mit Ihnen zu leben, würde ich selbst die Direktion des Königstädter Theaters übernehmen, also lebenslängl. Versorgung und Sicherheit. Mit Ihnen hätte ich dann auch meinen lieben Bruder;[25] und ich brauche Ihnen nicht zu schildern, wie manches ich an Dresden verlöhre.—Diesmal ganz ein Brief von Geschäften und Planen des Lebens, die mir fast, bei meinem Alter, komisch vorkommen, Sie sehn aber, wie schnell wenigstens, und auch weitläufig ich auf Ihre Frage antworte.—Von München selbst habe ich seit drei viertel Jahren nicht ein Wort vernommen.

[21] Tieck's bosom friend, the philosopher, who died in October, 1819. For his efforts in getting Tieck a position see Köpke, *op. cit.*, II, 29.

[22] Hardenberg, the Prussian minister and patron of Raumer.

[23] 1783–1861, an official in the Berlin Hoftheater. In 1822 he became Hofrat.

[24] Tieck writes to Schenk on August 20, 1826 (unpublished, Dresden), that his library contains 8000 volumes. By 1841 it had increased to over 15,000 volumes.

[25] Friedrich, the sculptor, 1776–1851. Ludwig's genuine affection for him was later poorly rewarded.

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Ich bitte nochmals, daß vorerst die Sache unter uns bleibt, uns beiden, was mich betrifft; hört man auswärts was von fern, daß ich nachlässig bin, und es nicht annehme, so erfolgt gewiß kein Antrag der Art.

Auf Ihren schönen Brief, den mir die Milder[26] gebracht hat, kann ich heute nun nicht mehr antworten. Nur Dank und immer wieder Dank für Ihre so trostreiche Liebe, wenn Sie sich auch in dem eiligen Briefe unterschrieben: zu sehr Ihr Freund. In Ihrer Gesellschaft, nicht bloß durch Ihre Schriften gewinne ich jedesmal unermeßlich. Und welcher Gewinn ist denn noch obenein, das Bewußtsein und Gefühl der Liebe! Kommen Sie nur recht f r ü h in Ihren Ferien und bleiben Sie diesmal recht l a n g e und bringen Sie Ihre g a n z e Arbeit über die neuere Geschichte[27] mit. Auf das Buch über die Geschichte des Rechts[28] freue ich mich sehr; davon muß ich noch viel lernen—die mitgeschickte Dummheit ist wenigstens merkwürdig.—Hat Uechteritz[29] wirklich einen Verleger für seinen Darius und Alex[ander]? Ich hatte vorläufig schon mit Max[30] unterhandelt, der ihn gewiß, und unter vorteilhaften Bedingungen angenommen hätte. Wird schon aber gedruckt, wie mir Max schreibt, so muß ich mit meiner kleinen Vorrede eilen.

Ich umarme Sie, Geliebtester:—Finde ich in Dresden, oder auch hier, irgend etwas von München, so schreibe ich Ihnen sogleich. Den 23tn Juli reise ich wieder von hier ab, morgen über 8 Tage, und bin denselben Tag schon in Dr[esden]. Die Bäder bekommen mir gut, über die schlimmste Schwäche und Erschöpfung bin ich auch schon hinüber; vor 6 Tagen hätte

[26] Anna Milder-Hauptmann, 1785–1838, an operatic singer of note, renowned for popularizing Gluck. For Raumer's opinion of her cf. his letter to Tieck of July 28, 1827, recently published by Marta Becker in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, LV (May, 1929), 147.

[27] In 1832 Raumer published the first volume of his *Geschichte Europas seit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts.*

[28] Raumer's work, *Über die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Begriffe von Recht, Staat und Politik*, Leipzig, 1826.

[29] Tieck had known the young dramatist and novelist Friedrich von Üchtritz for some years, and was instrumental in publishing the drama here referred to. It appeared with a preface by Tieck in Berlin in 1827.

[30] The Breslau publisher Josef Max, with whom Tieck had many dealings. He did not publish *Alexander und Darius*, however.

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ich Ihnen gegenwärtigen Brief nicht schreiben können. Ich grüße die Ihrigen herzlich und bin

Mit unwandelbarer Liebe
Ihr ganz eigner,
L. TIECK.

Teplitz, Sonnabend, den 15ten Juli: als ich eben Ihren Brief vom 12ten erhalten hatte.

4

On July 16, 1827, Raumer wrote Tieck a letter from Berlin (LB II, 215). Another lengthy epistle from Raumer, dated July 28–August 4 and relating chiefly to musical matters, has recently been reprinted in part.[11] Late in August we find Raumer in western Germany on his way to the Netherlands and France. In September he reached Paris, where he remained until late in the autumn. He wrote Tieck three letters during his stay in Paris (LB II, 229 ff.).

The following letter from Tieck, of August 6, reached Raumer shortly before his departure from Berlin. Tieck, "ein unverbesserlicher Büchernarr," as he once styled himself (Köpke, *op. cit.*, II, 133), is interested in Raumer's trip chiefly from the point of view of the bibliophile. He is just convalescing from one of the frequent attacks of illness to which he was subject.

DRESDEN, den 6. Aug. 1827.

Geliebter Freund,

Ich muß Ihnen vor Ihrer großen Reise doch wohl noch einige Worte sagen, und Ihnen meinen Segen und meine herzlichsten Wünsche mit auf den Weg geben. Kommen Sie nur recht gesund zurück: ich wollte, ich wäre gesund und stark genug, so hätte ich Sie begleitet.—Wie angenehm, wie lehrreich wird Ihnen der Aufenthalt in Paris und den Niederlanden sein!—Darf ich eine Bitte wagen, ob ich gleich noch so sehr in Ihrer Schuld bin? In Antwerp, Brüssel, Gent, Mecheln, Brügge haben Sie vielleicht Zeit, sich bei Antiquaren umzusehen: finden Sie Dramen von Lope, Montalvan, Mirademescua, Tirso di Molina—die können Sie für mich dort erstehen, so werde ich Ihnen sehr danken. Dort findet man noch am ersten dergleichen. In Paris auch, aber theuer. Vielleicht können Sie mir von dort einige Stücke des Hardy oder andere Altertümer,

[11] Cf. Marta Becker, *Deutsche Rundschau, loc. cit.*

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z.B. den du Bellay (aus dem Siebengestirn) mitbringen. Ronsard, Cl. Marot, besitze ich selbst.* Vergessen Sie Thorbeck[33] in Gent nicht und meine Grüße an diesen.

Seit vielen, vielen Jahren hat mir kein Buch so großen und bleibenden Eindruck gemacht, als die É t a t s d e B l o i s,[34] welches ich in Teplitz gelesen habe. Dieses ist eine dramatische Darstellung jener Versammlung und der Ermordung des Guise durch Heinrich III. Das Buch selbst ist eine Fortsetzung der Barricades, welches Werk ich noch nicht gelesen habe. Der Autor, ein junger Mann mit Namen Meremé,[35] trat zuerst mit sonderbaren, dem H. Kleist ziemlich verwandten Schauspielen auf, die er aus dem Spanischen, als die Werke einer span. Comödiantin, Clara Gazul,[36] wollte übersetzt haben. Suchen Sie doch in Paris diesen Autor auf, und sollte er von mir irgend wissen, so versichern Sie ihn meiner höchsten Verehrung. Lesen Sie diese Bücher, und Sie werden mir dafür danken; denn Ihre Bewunderung wird gewiß der meinigen gleichen. In dem Ét[ats] de Blois weht ein Shakespearscher Geist; die Franzosen haben dergleichen noch nie gehabt, und werden es auch schwer verstehn.

Werden Sie uns einmal von Paris schreiben? Es ist unbillig, es zu erwarten und darum bitte ich auch nicht darum. Wenn Sie nur über Dresden zurückkommen könnten, und mir dann in einigen Tagen recht vieles erzählen.

Ich bin wohl, aber vom Bade unglaublich matt, sonst sind wir alle gesund. Die Gräfinn,[37] die Meinigen begrüßen Sie mit mir.

Vom Bade kehrend, fühle ich in der Mattigkeit die Kürze des Lebens und die Unzulänglichkeit aller Dinge mehr als je. Löbel ist hier und stärkt mich durch Gespräche, die mich dann doch wieder angreifen.

* Auch Saluste du Bartas[32] habe ich.

[32] Saluste du Bartas, Guillaume, 1544–1590, a French poet.

[33] Johann Rudolph Thorbecke, 1796–1872, a Dutch scholar and statesman, a friend of Tieck.

[34] A work of Mérimée.

[35] Prosper Mérimée, the French novelist.

[36] *Théatre de Clara Gazul, comédienne espagnol*, 1825.

[37] Henriette von Finkenstein, who made her home with Tieck after his removal to Dresden.

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Glück auf den Weg! Auch Löbel grüßt herzlich.
Bleiben Sie mein Freund, wie ich
Der Ihrige

LUDW. TIECK.

5

In the following undated letter we find Tieck apologising, as he did so frequently, for his procrastination as a correspondent. Raumer's bashful young son Hermann has been visiting him, but Tieck's poor health has prevented him from being a good host. The second half of the letter gives us an interesting account of Tieck's reaction to the Goethe-Schiller correspondence which Goethe was just publishing. We note Tieck's coolness toward Goethe and his antipathy for Schiller. Later Raumer expressed himself just as unfavorably regarding the Goethe-Zelter correspondence (LB II, 364).

The Goethe-Schiller correspondence appeared in 1828–1829. This circumstance as well as Tieck's reference to "meine Vorrede zu den Schriften" and to "die neue, welche noch umständlicher ausgefallen," help us in assigning a fairly precise date to the letter. Since Tieck's Vorbericht to the first instalment, i.e., Vols. 1–5, of his *Schriften* (the first volume of which was dedicated to Raumer) is dated July, 1828, and the second, prefixed to Vol. 6, bears the date "im November 1828," our letter may be dated late in 1828 or in 1829. Finally the reference to Tieck's "Gedicht für Goethe" in the next letter—a continuation of this one—indicates that 1829 is the correct date, since the poem in question was meant for the first Dresden performance of Goethe's *Faust*, Part I, on August 27, 1829.

Geliebtester Freund,

Ja wohl bin ich ein armer Sünder! Indessen fanden Sie ja damals, daß meine Vorrede zu den Schriften[38] auch für einen Brief gelten könne, und so nehmen Sie die neue, welche noch umständlicher ausgefallen, auch wohl dafür. Nur niemals an meiner Treue und Liebe dürfen Sie irre und zweifelhaft werden. Diese Unart, die ich nie entschuldige, hat alle meine Freunde verlezt und mir manche abgewendet, so wie vielfältigen Schaden gethan.—O des unseligen Aufschiebens! Ich erinnere mich nicht, daß in Dantes Hölle oder Fegefeuer ein Platz für diese Sünder ist, die es mehr verdienen, als manche andre. Hamlet

[38] The Vorbericht, prefaced to Vol. I of Tieck's *Schriften* (Berlin, Reimer, 1828), covers 44 pages; the second Vorbericht ("die neue"), prefixed to Vol. VI, covers 54 pages.

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ist zu sehr mein Blutsverwandter—und wenn wir, wie Novalis und manche glaubten, vor unserem jetzigen Leben schon einmal waren, wenn wir selbst die Art unseres Daseins wählten, so habe ich gewiß schon damals den Zauderer gespielt, und auch einen langen, unnützen Monolog—to be—or not to be—gehalten.

Es freut mich sehr, daß Sie mir nicht böse sind, daß ich Ihrem Hermann zugeredet noch hier zu bleiben. Nur freilich hat der Arme wenig davon gehabt, denn fast immer ist schlechtes Wetter, so daß nur halbe, unsichere Parthieen haben gemacht werden können. Und was eben so schlimm ist, von demselben Tage, an welchem er sich vornahm, noch zu bleiben, bin ich recht unwohl, und dadurch verdrüßlich, mundfaul, nörgelnd und recht langweilig geworden. Ich hatte mir vorgenommen, mit Hermann Tharandt,[39] auch die Gallerié zu besuchen, aber alle diese Projekte sind mit meiner Liebenswürdigkeit, Mittheilung, Gespräch u.s.w. in den Brunnen gefallen. Also kann er an mir wenig oder nichts gehabt haben, und wahrlich, ohne meine Schuld, denn ich hatte die allerbesten Vorsätze. Bei meinem ausbrechenden Unwohlsein ist man sich und den andren am unausstehlichsten, bis sich das Uebel erst etwas gesezt hat, und wir es schon mehr zu handhaben wissen. Nun kommt aber auch noch dazu, daß Ihr Hermann etwas verschlossen und wenig mittheilend ist. Woher diese zurückgezogene Schüchternheit? Der Sohn so freier, mittheilender, offensprechender Eltern, und m i r gegen über, der ich keiner Katze mit den Künsten des Alters oder der Langeweile imponiren mag! Auch ist seine Sprache allzuleise, sein Ausdruck zu furchtsam.

Ich kenne wohl die jugendliche Schüchternheit, und lobe sie, wo sie hingehört; es müssen aber doch einige Lehrer auf ihn einwirken, oder Umgang, der ihm diese berlinische Rückhaltung aufgedrungen oder annehmlich gemacht haben. Mir wäre es so erfreulich gewesen, seine jugendlichen Urtheile, Erwartungen vom Leben, seinen Kampf für dieses und gegen jenes, seine Ansichten von Wissenschaft, Poesie und Geschichte, so weit er sie kennt, oder über Menschen, Scherze, Kindereien,

[39] A town near Dresden.

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und was es sei, zu vernehmen. Man wird dann selbst wieder jung; aber er ist verschüchtert; denn daß es jene vornehme Verschlossenheit nicht ist, sehe ich wohl, die den ganzen Werth des Berliner Bodens ausmacht.

Daß sein Aufenthalt von einigen Tagen Sie abhalten könnte, herzukommen, ist doch nur ihr Schertz. Nein, mein Freund, wenn nicht wichtige Ursachen sie zurück halten, kommen Sie gewiß, und auf recht lange. Möchten Sie doch nur wieder mit dem Stübchen bei uns vorlieb nehmen wollen! Auf Michaelis bekomme ich noch eine Stube, vielleicht zwei, ganz oben im Hause; wenn ich diese jezt schon hätte, könnten Sie dort noch ungenirter sein.

Was Sie mir von den Schechners[40] schreiben, hat mir leid gethan, mich aber nicht überrascht. Wenn diese Virtuosen des Enthusiasmus fähig wären, würden Publikum und selbst Componisten ohne weiteres von selbst auf den rechten Weg kommen. Sie kennen aber nichts als Eitelkeit, Persönlichkeit, Intrigen, für diesen und gegen jenen; das Geringe, Zufällige, wovon nach 6 Monaten nicht mehr die Rede ist, ist ihnen wichtig, das, wovon man noch in einem Jahrhundert auch sprechen würde, ist ihnen unbedeutend. Es ist unerhört, daß die junge Person, nicht einmal aus Neugier, die übrigen Meisterwerke Glucks angesehn hat. Doch jedermann, der sich mit diesen Leuten mit wahrer Freundschaft, mit edler, rückhaltloser Liebe zur Kunst einläßt, wird dieselben Erfahrungen machen. Wie viele Lieder der Art könnte ich auch, zwar über andre Gegenstände singen!—Es sind aber nicht diese neuern Comödianten und Virtuosen allein, die diesen Krankheiten der Dummheit ausgesezt sind, diese gemeine Gesinnung ist auch unter den Menschen andrer Classen nicht ungemein. Das reine Interesse für Wissenschaft, Kunst, Wahrheit, Religion, Geschichte und alles Edle ist höchst selten. Man begreift wenn ich den Freund laut, dumm, schreiend preise,—er ist ein Freund, sogar die übrigen,—man vergiebt mir, wenn ich den Feind gering schätze,

[40] The reference is to the family of Nanette Schechner-Waagen, born 1806 in Munich, died there 1860. She was one of the leading singers of the day and filled important operatic engagements in Munich, Vienna and Berlin. Cf. A. Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethoven*, V, 306; also Max Zenger, *Geschichte der Münchener Oper*, her. von Theodor Kroyer, 1923, p. 211. For Raumer's opinion of her see Marta Becker, *Deutsche Rundschau, loc. cit.*

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weil er mein Widersacher ist! lobe ich am lezten irgend was, so sieht man nach der Absicht, die ich damit durchsetzen will; tadle ich am Freund, so bin ich undankbar, oder schlechten Herzens, oder stehe im Begriff, ihn anzufeinden. Die Schreier machen der Menge die Meinung. Weise ich ab, widerspreche, so ist es Hochmuth, Eigensinn. Die Wahrheitsliebe, die unerschütterliche Verehrung dessen, was ich für das Rechte erkenne, daran glaubt kein Mensch. Kehren die Schreier nach Jahren zu jener Meinung zurück, die ich verteidigte, so haben sie längst vergessen, daß sie ihretwegen mit mir stritten. Es scheint ein Naturgesetz. Man soll nur mit sich und seinen Freunden leben. Jene Zeiten, wo Wahrheit und Schönheit allgemeiner anerkannt werden, sind die seltnen lichten Punkte. Haben Sie nicht schon oft viele Verehrer des Rafael und Sophokles gekannt, die mit den elendesten neuen Schmierereien oder halbsüßen Kindereien, so wie mit Hofmann[41] und noch schlimmeren völlig einverstanden waren? Können Sie dergleichen unmöglich vereinigen, nun so zuckt man vornehm die Schultern; Sie sind einseitig, mit der Zeit nicht fortgeschritten, ein universeller Sinn fehlt, und dgl.

Viel Glück zu der neuen Ausgabe der Hohenstaufen![42] Ja nicht zu viel geändert! Das D a r o h n e und dgl. Provinzialismen, oder b e leben statt e r leben, Ergebniß statt Ergebenheit werden Sie am wenigsten ausstreichen. Drum lassen Sie mir ja die großen, meine D a r o h n e des Buches, darohne es mir gewiß weniger gefallen würde! Himmel! Könnte ich doch nur den Mut und Entschluß fassen, um, bei Erscheinung der neuen Auflage, meine längst versprochene Anzeige zu schreiben! Die eigentlich meine Grillen über Geschichte und geschichtliche Kunst-Compositionen, Geschichtbücher, und Geschichts-Erzählungen vortragen würde.

Was Sie mir über Göthes und Schillers Briefwechsel schrieben, wovon ich nur 2 Teile bis jezt gelesen, muß ich bestätigen. Er macht keinen erfreulichen Eindruck, und daß man so hinter die Coulissen blicken darf, schadet besonders Schillern. Sich Recensionen bestellen, die Cotta bezahlt, eifersüchtig sein auf

[41] E. T. A. Hoffmann, 1776–1822, of whom Tieck had a very poor opinion.

[42] The second edition of Raumer's work did not, however, appear until 1840–1842.

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andre Journale, hinhorchen, wo dieser und jener irgend was gegen die theuern Herren verlauten lassen, ist wahrhaft zum Erbarmen. Und diese Thronfürsten, Anführer unserer Literatur, die dadurch etwas von Rädelsführern bekommen. Mein Glaube, daß es ein gefährliches Ding sei, ein Journal herauszugeben, ist dadurch bestärkt worden. Manches hat mich im Mitleid zu lachen gemacht. Im 2ten Th. über Reichard,[43] wo erzählt wird, R. habe in seinem Deutschland darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß man manches in der Übersetzung des B. Cellini, und zwar recht karaktristische Stellen ausgelassen habe, das Journal Deutschland füge einiges Weggebliebene hinzu. Hier geräth G. ganz außer sich. Er ängstet sich, Reich[ard], der schlechteste aller Menschen, und der sich Alles erlaubt, möchte unter diesem Vorwande der mangelhaften Uebersetzung schnell eine vollständige fabriziren und drucken lassen. Diese Sache und dieser Umstand hängt nun folgendermaßen zusammen:—

Ich, damals ein Jüngling, ein enthusiastischer, ja fanatischer Anbeter Göthes, denn ich ließ fast Niemand als ihn für etwas gelten, kam auf einer Reise wieder nach Giebichenstein. Es war von den Horen die Rede. Ueber Schiller, dessen aesthetische Briefe, Sentimental und Naiv, dachte ich wie jetzt, verabscheute aber gradezu das R e i c h d e r S c h a t t e n,[44] oder F o r m e n, ein gefaseltes Gedicht, welches den Berliner Juden, von Gentz und Humbold über die Gebühr zusagte; ihre Bewundrung hatte wohl meinen Haß geschärft. Den Cellini hatte ich mit Freude, aber nicht mit jener entzückten Anbetung, der sich viele hingaben, gelesen, denn es war am Ende doch nur eine gute Uebersetzung. Dazu kam, daß ich ihn längst schon in Göttingen, durch Fiorillo[45] kennen gelernt hatte, der mir das seltne ital. Exempl. zum Lesen gab. Darum konnte ich Reich-

[43] Johann Friedrich Reichardt, 1752–1814, the composer and writer. As a youth Tieck spent much time at Reichardt's house in Berlin and also at his country residence in Giebichenstein near Halle. See Köpke, *op. cit.*, I, 76. Reichardt published a journal *Deutschland* and in it reviewed Goethe's translation of Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography, which appeared in 1803. Goethe and Schiller were both hostile to Reichardt.

[44] The poem was first published by Schiller in the *Horen* (1795); in the first edition of the *Gedichte* (1800) the title was changed to "Das Reich der Formen"; in the second edition (1803) to "Das Ideal und das Leben."

[45] Tieck's art teacher in Göttingen. See Tieck's *Kritische Schriften*, I, Leipzig, 1848, p. vii.

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[ard] sagen: wie es mir leid thue, daß die Anekdote mit dem Salamander, die dem Knaben Cellini eine Ohrfeige vom Vater zuzieht, von Göthe ausgelassen sei. Ich begreife auch jezt nicht, warum G. die Stelle damals unterdrückte. Unserem Reich[ard] war dies, als einem Journalisten viel wichtiger als mir; gleich wurde hervorposaunt, das ital. Leben, wie ich vermutet hatte, war nicht zu haben, wohl aber auf der Universitäts-Bibl. die englische Uebersetzung. Ich übersezte R. die fehlende Anekdote, schrieb eine kleine Bemerkung zur Einleitung, und einige Worte über den Cellini: dies wurde im Journal Deutschl. abgedruckt, welches ich nicht zur Hand habe, um nachsehn zu können, ob vielleicht R. eine bittre, oder breitre Critik hinzugefügt hat. Ich mag R. nicht loben, er hatte viele Gebrechen, er hat sich an mir, wie an vielen versündiget, aber in ihm war auch viel Gutes; und seine Musik, besonders für Göthe, wird immer ganz etwas anders, als die von Zelter, und manchen andern, sein und bleiben. G. und R. waren einmal sehr vertraut gewesen: vielerlei entfernte sie.—nun die Xenien—und 3 oder 2 Jahre nachher wohnt G ö t h e wieder a c h t Tage bei R. in Gieb[ichenstein]!—sie sind sich doch also näher gekommen, haben* verziehn:—und n u n nach mehr als 25 Jahren diese Briefe von G. und Schiller u n v e r ä n d e r t abgedruckt, ohne alle Noten, die so leicht das Schlimmste hätten mildern, oder wieder wegnehmen können.—Dergleichen begreife ich völlig nicht,—denn was hatte nun am Ende R. den beiden Herren so Großes gethan? Was könnte er ihnen tun? Daß er über die Herren kühl sprach, daß er auch sein Journal poussiren wollte, daß er nichts anders wollte, oder ausprach, als Tausende mit ihm.—Schiller hatte ich bisher nicht für so schwach gehalten: Göthe—je nun—wo viel Licht ist viel Schatten. Wehre sich jeder selbst. Es ist eine larmoyante Comödie und selbst etwas ölreiche [?] (besonders von alten Heringen) Ironie-Sauce dabei!

Ihr
Treuster
L. Tieck

(Fortsetzung n ä c h s t e n s!)

Bald! Bald kommen!

(To be continued)

* An 's' is crossed out.

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EARLY INFLUENCES ON THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF GERHART HAUPTMANN

By FREDERICK W. J. HEUSER

RELIGIOUS, metaphysical and sociological questions form so large a part of the problems treated in Hauptmann's works that it seems worth while to trace their origins in the formative period of his life more completely than has been done heretofore. Accordingly, an attempt has been made not only to bring together the printed evidence scattered in out of the way sources not formerly utilized, but also to supplement this in important particulars from information kindly given to the writer by the poet himself or by his friends, either through personal interview or through correspondence. It is hoped that thus this study will help to present certain aspects of Hauptmann's earlier life in a truer perspective and to eliminate a number of inaccuracies which have been repeated ever since Schlenther in 1897 first published his semi-official biography.

Hauptmann's father was a man of some education. He had attended the Gymnasium for a while and in his later wanderings he had gotten as far as Paris. The July Revolution broke out while he was in the French capital, and it seems that he brought back with him rather liberal political views. At all events he liked to play the "Marseillaise" and he was known in his home town as "der rote Hauptmann." He it was who first opened up to his son the beauties of Schiller's "Der Taucher." At an early age young Gerhart was captivated by a prose translation of Homer and conceived the naive plan of turning the prose into verse. He was also greatly impressed with the artistic perfection of Platen's poetry.[1]

Very little is known about the religious life of the poet's parents. Schlenther narrates briefly that the children never heard their father expatiate on religious questions, but that

[1] Hans von Hülsen, *Gerhart Hauptmann*, Leipzig, 1927 (hereafter cited as Hülsen), p. 10.

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they had occasion in critical moments to note his firm faith in God.[2] If Schlenther's equation of "Kurt equals Gerhart Hauptmann in *Emanuel Quint*"[3] is valid, we may assume that the characterization of Kurt's parents as "naive natural people"[4] holds also for the poet's parents. Apparently they were sincere and convinced members of the United Prussian State Church. In the mother the Moravian background may occasionally have asserted itself. Hülsen, the approved biographer of 1927, adds nothing to these characterizations.

About his own early religious and metaphysical reactions Hauptmann has written fully in two autobiographic fragments. The periodicals in which these two articles appeared are now so rare even in Germany that they have been passed over unnoticed by all later Hauptmann biographers. Accordingly it seems permissible to quote from them rather extensively here.

From his earliest years Hauptmann remembers only the obligatory evening prayer, and with ill disguised irony he hints at the orthodox ethics of reward and punishment with which his mother and the nurse girl tried to impress upon him the necessity of daily prayer:[5]

Es ist manchmal schwer zu beten, weil man sehr müde ist. Wenn man es unterläßt, hat man gesündigt. Außerdem setzt man sich allen Gefahren aus, die in der Welt lauern, und gegen die nur eben das erweichte Herz des lieben Gottes ein Schutz ist.

Even as a child he broods over the ultimate verities:[6]

In der Ferne wird ihm die Welt durch einen einzigen, schöngeformten, spitzen Berg abgeschlossen. Das Kind ist der Meinung, daß man von seinem Gipfel aus in den Himmel steigt. Die Welt ist ihm mit dem Berge zu Ende. Aber wenn sie auch dort zu Ende ist, ja, gerade weil sie dort zu Ende ist, muß das Kind immer grübeln, was eigentlich hinter dem Berge sein möchte. Immer wieder liegt es im Fenster, lauscht den Stim-

[2] Paul Schlenther, *Gerhart Hauptmann*, neue Ausgabe von Arthur Eloesser, Berlin, 1922 (hereafter cited as Schlenther), p. 10.

[3] *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[4] *Gesammelte Werke*, Volksausgabe (hereafter cited as *G. W.*), V, 100.

[5] Gerhart Hauptmann, "Die abgekürzte Chronik meines Lebens," *Almanach 1920*, Rudolf Mosse, Berlin, p. 175.

[6] *L. c.*, pp. 176–182.

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men des Windes, betrachtet den Berg und den Berggipfel und sucht vergebens nach einer Antwort. Da es keine erhält, begnügt es sich mit den Schauern des Grauens, mit den unbestimmten Vorstellungen von endlosen Räumen und leeren Abgründen.

In den langen Wintern hat der Knabe Zeit auf Entdeckungen in sich selber auszugehen und sich unter dem Dach des durchwärmten Hauses eine universelle Welt der Phantasie zu erschaffen, als ein Surrogat, und doch auch mehr als ein Surrogat, jedenfalls als etwas unumgänglich Nötiges zum eigensten Gebrauch. Äußere und physische Leiden vermögen ihm die Lebensfreude nicht zu rauben, wohl aber eines Tages, allerdings nur für Stunden und hin und wieder in der Folge für Augenblicke, e i n Gedanke. Es ist der Gedanke seiner Alleinigkeit, seiner Einsamkeit. Es kommt ihm vor, als ob er trotz der vielen Menschen, die ihn umgeben, und der anderen noch zahlreicheren, die auf der Erde verbreitet wohnen, von Gott und Menschen verlassen wäre. Es ist ihm, als sei die Welt eine treibende Eisscholle. Was macht es für den einzelnen Tröstliches aus, wenn viele andere Kreaturen, Menschen und Tiere mit ihm auf der Eisscholle sind und in das gleiche Verderben treiben. Angstvolle Vorstellungen, dieser gleich, wurden durch kosmische Träume genährt, die den Schlaf des Knaben zuweilen erfüllten. Er hatte sie in gesunden Tagen, aber noch mehr in den Fieberzuständen der bekannten Kinderkrankheiten, von denen er nicht verschont bleibt. Ungeheure Vorstellungen terrestrischer und astraler Vorgänge nimmt er ins wache Leben hinüber. Er sieht sich als ein verlorenes Nichts an Kleinheit, an einen mit stereoskopischer Klarheit erblickten riesigen Mondball geklebt und rotierend durch die allseitigen Abgründe des Weltraums mitgerissen. Es kam ihm vor, als sei es ihm gegeben, unter unendlichem Grauen mit Augen zu sehen, wovon für gewöhnlich ein geringes Teil schon zu ungeheuer für den menschlichen Gesichtssinn ist. In welches furchtbar seltsame Rätsel ist man hineingestellt?

Natürlich ohne von Immanuel Kant zu wissen, tat er sehr früh den Kantischen Schritt und trennte das Ding an sich von der Vorstellung. Die Fülle der Bilder und aller Empfindungen, die ihm durch seine Sinne vermittelt wurden, sah er mitunter nicht ohne Pein als einen dichten Vorhang an. Und die Unmöglichkeit hinter diesen Vorhang zu kommen, marterte ihn. Es ist nicht mehr der Berg, von dem aus man in den Himmel steigen kann, und den er vom Fenster des Elternhauses früher mit Schauern betrachtet hat, aber es ist doch dasjenige in ausgedehnter und reicherer Form, was damals zur Frage nach der

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Grenze der Welt geführt hat. Und immer ist es eine Beengung, aus der er sich lösen will. Der Tod des Großvaters vermittelte ihm die Erkenntnis der Unentrinnbarkeit des Todes. Hat er früher ein Gefühl schrankenloser Freiheit empfunden, so bemerkt er jetzt eine Schlinge, mit der er gefesselt, eine lange unzerreißbare, dunkle Schnur, die in der Ferne verschwindet und durch die er mit eiserner Faust des Todes ein für allemal fest verbunden ist. Nicht mit dem leiblichen Auge, aber im Geist sieht er Hände, die jene Angelschnur gleichsam aufwikkeln, an deren Haken er unrettbar hängt.

Der erste Schultag beginnt für ihn ein schleichendes Leiden, das einer dauernden, jahrelangen Krankheit zu vergleichen ist. Und mit peinvoller Wehmut erkennt er, wie das Leben auf Gewinn und Verlust, auf Gewinn im Verlust und Verlust im Gewinn gestellt, wie man im Fortschreiten immer neuen Boden berührt und zugleich alten, liebgewordenen Boden verlassen muß. Wie man dauernd stirbt, um dauernd zu leben. Wie das Gehen ein geschicktes Fallen und die Gefahr des wirklichen Fallens immer nahe ist.

In 1874 he is placed in the house of an "athletic clergyman from the Masurian Lake region." [7] None too flattering memories of this representative of conservative institutionalized Christianity seem to underlie the portrayal of the prison chaplain in *Emanuel Quint* [8] and of Pastor Angermann in *Dorothea Angermann*. In spite of a series of conflicts in this house, he seems to have felt fairly happy, at least in contrast to the following unhappy months in the house of the "vicious, shrewish wife of an iron-worker." [9]

The confirmation lessons showed him how little occasionally Christian profession of faith tallies with Christian practice:

Der Knabe . . . besucht jetzt den Konfirmandenunterricht bei Pastor Klam an der Kirche zu St. Magdalenen. Er ist ein milder, sanftmütiger Mann, aber der Knabe macht von den letzten Bänken aus, in die man ihn gesetzt, hier, im Hörsaal des Pastorhauses, Beobachtungen, die für seine Betrachtung von Welt und Menschen im allgemeinen und Wert und Wesen im besonderen von Bedeutung sind.

[7] Gerhart Hauptmann, "Abgekürzte Lebenschronik, ein Ausschnitt," *Das Tagebuch*, Berlin, Jan. 10, 1920, p. 16.

[8] *G. W.*, V, 533.

[9] "Abgekürzte Lebenschronik," p. 17.

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Dem Katheder am nächsten, wo der berufene Diener und Vertreter Gottes sitzt, hat man in der ersten Bank mehreren jungen Grafen und Baronen, schlesischen Adelssprossen, Plätze eingeräumt. Und für diese, im übrigen wohlerzogenen, jungen Leute scheint Pastor Klam und das Gotteswort ausschließlich vorhanden zu sein. Es ist, als ob der sanfte Mann den jungen Grafen Soundso, den Sekundaner Freiherrn Soundso Christi und seiner Lehre wegen und der Notwendigkeit, sich damit abzugeben, demütig um Entschuldigung bäte. Er tut eine Frage an Herrn von Soundso und scheint es besonders freundlich anzuerkennen, daß er keine Antwort bekommt. Niemals bekommt er eine Antwort. Aber er sagt: „Ganz recht, Sie wollen sagen, Graf Soundso . . . Sie denken mit Recht, Freiherr Soundso . . ." und hierauf gibt er selber die Antwort. Kein Blick trifft jemals die Parias in den übrigen Bänken. Niemals wird ein Auge auf den Knaben gerichtet oder eine Frage an ihn getan. Dieser ist aber bereits so tief in das Wesen Christi und der Evangelien eingedrungen, daß er recht wohl durchschaut, wie fern dieser Pastor davon ist.

Early experiences like these explain why the poet, who in all other respects tries to understand and to forgive, practically never sketched a preacher worthy of being a follower of Christ.

With profound gratitude, however, Hauptmann recalls a teacher, who only for a few weeks taught as a substitute in the religion class in Quinta, and contrasts him with the professed disciple of Christ:

Regt dieser Pastor seinen Jünger, ohne es zu beabsichtigen, zum Denken an, so ist dies früher durch einen Lehrer in der Schule mit Vorsatz geschehen. . . . Es gelang ihm . . . bei geeigneten Köpfen unvoreingenommene Urteilskraft zu wecken und ihr auch gegenüber dem Bibelbuch Mut zu machen. In dem prachtvollen, körperlich wie geistig tapferen Manne (er hatte den letzten Krieg unter Auszeichnung, als Offizier mitgemacht) hatten vielleicht die Bücher von Dulk oder David Friedrich Strauß ihre Wirkung getan. Er sah in J o s e p h ein Muttersöhnchen, ein Nesthäkchen, das sich bei seinen Brüdern verhaßt gemacht hatte, und fand es sogar in Ordnung, daß sie sich des Aufpassers und Denunzianten entledigten. Sogar den lang entschiedenen Prozeß des V e r r ä t e r s J u d a s, des Erzbösewichts, wollte er revidiert wissen und ging umständlich daran, mit der Klasse auf originelle Art das Für und Wider der Schuldfrage zu erörtern. Diese Saat, von der Pastor Klam nichts

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ahnte, gleicht dem Senfkorn, das sich in der Seele des Knaben im Laufe des Lebens zum Baum entfalten wird. Dagegen bleibt der Konfirmandenunterricht und später die Konfirmation und das Abendmahl eine schwache Erinnerung ohne Folge.[10]

It is evident that Hauptmann dates his religious emancipation and independence back to the brief period of instruction by this free-thinking teacher. As we shall see, Dulk later also attracted his attention. The deep impression which was then made is also corroborated by the remark of Hanstein, that in his Berlin period Hauptmann occupied himself with the idea of writing a new gospel in the form of a diary of Judas Ischariot.[11] Johannes Schlaf confirmed this statement in a letter to the author of July 15, 1924. As late as March 20, 1892, Hauptmann was at work on an "Evangelium Judä."[12] Alfred Plötz recalled that Hauptmann's preoccupation with this subject reached far back into the second Breslau period.

The boy's failure to keep up with his studies in the Realgymnasium am Zwinger coupled with his father's bankruptcy freed him from the hated school discipline. Instead of the daily lessons fairy-tales in the style of Hans Christian Andersen had filled his note-books.[13] It is perhaps significant that in the testimonial of honorable dismissal no mark for religion is entered.[14] Echoes of the pernicious effect of the drill-like instruction in the Gymnasium appear as late as 1921 in the bucolic epic *Anna:*[15]

> Wie die Schule das Rückgrat ihm hatte lädiert,
> die Wahrhaftigkeit hatte sie ihm und den Freimut genommen,
> eignes Denken verpönt und abgestempelten Unsinn
> einzukleiden versucht in das edle Organ, drin die edle,
> hochgebietend und frei, die Vernunft, zu thronen bestimmt sei.

It was decided that he should turn to agriculture, and so in the fall of 1878 he went to live with his uncle Schubert on

[10] *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15.

[11] Adalbert von Hanstein, *Gerhart Hauptmann*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 9.

[12] From a postcard to Otto Brahm, given in extract in *Versteigerung einer Hauptmann Sammlung*, S. Martin Fraenkel, Berlin, 1923, No. 695.

[13] Hülsen, p. 11.

[14] Schlenther, p. 7.

[15] *G. W.*, Ergänzungsband II, 349.

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the estate of Lederose. In a letter to Emil Reich of October 6, 1891, he passes these two years in review:[16]

> Die Stadt und die Schule machten mich kränklich und verbitterten mich gemütlich. . . . Ich wurde und blieb zwei Jahre Landwirt. In dieser Zeit stellte sich meine Persönlichkeit langsam wieder her, aber die ersten selbständigen Schritte, die ich tat, brachten mich in das Lager der Frömmsten der Frommen. Eine Zeitlang sog ich *herrnhuterischen Geist* mit der Gier eines geistig Bettelarmen in mich ein, bald jedoch war ich *übersatt*, und später bekam ich *Durst nach neuen Weinen.*

Even though many details are no doubt freely invented, and though several of the incidents narrated may have occurred only during a later visit, the poet has with masterly skill depicted in his *Anna* the pietistic atmosphere which pervaded Lederose.

Quite in the language of these circles God is asked for an heir, and when this prayer is heeded, He is thanked daily for this fulfilment and implored to preserve the boy. But the Heavenly Father in his inscrutable wisdom (p. 291) takes away the child again and in her urge for selfabnegation Frau Julie thanks Heaven that her hopes of earlier days have been so thoroughly and completely confounded (p. 359) and that now even amid her tears this joy of self-denial has opened up to her the golden gates to the true joys of life (p. 357). This her Christian cult of suffering and of sorrow has something uplifting even for Luz, and he sees in it a certain element of beauty (p. 294). With real sincerity she strives to save his soul and with profound grief she realizes the futility of her endeavor. Luz, too, has an hour of pious awakening when the inscription on his cousin's grave conjures up before his inner eye the bodily form of Christ himself. But a transcendental religion of abnegation has hardened the souls of these kindhearted people, especially when the welfare of others is at stake. Only the Moravian grandmother "ist nur von Güte beseelt und von Liebe zum Menschen" and possesses "den unsagbaren Zauber allverstehender Milde" (p. 266). Even the most innocent pastimes Frau Julie looks upon with suspicion. She gives up playing

[16] "Eine Selbstschilderung Gerhart Hauptmanns," *Arbeiter Zeitung*, Nr. 304, Wien, November 12, 1922.

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the piano, for she saw "in der Klaviatur den Tummelplatz weltlichen Rausches, und fast graute ihr vor der Berührung" (p. 293). Though she has renounced this world, she has not succeeded "alles Gute in sich zu erdrosseln, und an der Orgel erhebt sie noch weiter ihre herrliche Stimme." More and more unlovable traits come to the surface, and convinced that she possesses the faith which alone leads to salvation, she complains about the corrupting influences of the times (p. 357) and calls Luz a free-thinker in spite of his belief in the cosmic soul. Much is made of the hardening of the sinner's heart, of rebirth in Christ and divine grace. With firm faith in God's will, Anna is forced to commit the sin against the Holy Ghost by giving herself to a man she does not love in order to save her from the claws of the devil and thus to pave for her the road to Heaven.

Coldly calculating, yet firmly believing in divine inspiration and Christian humility, the Moravian missionary allies himself with the fallen girl. The fairest happiness of two innocent young people, who seem evidently destined for each other, is destroyed by this supposed submissiveness to God's will and in despair Luz exclaims: "Warum quälen sich doch die Menschen . . . ohne Ursach so viel? Sie brauchen doch schließlich nur wollen, um einander ein Paradies schon auf Erden zu schaffen" (p. 349).

The torments of soul through which Hauptmann went in Lederose are reflected in the religious doubts and tribulations of young Kurt Simon in *Emanuel Quint.* We are told there how Kurt is inwardly troubled by the frightful pictures of the day of judgment and of the destruction of the world in the sermon of the itinerant lay preacher, how they robbed him of sleep[17] and how in his heart he has often fervently turned to Christ, without having the confusion of his soul cleared up by his prayers. Moments also of a real feeling of transcendental hope, of a pure and ecstatic joy, of a mystic happiness come over him. At times his ecstasies assume poetic form. "Es weinte in diesem Gedichte von Selbstanklage, von Abkehr und Überwindung der Welt, die dem heißen in Liebe überwallenden

[17] *G. W.*, V, p. 95.

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Herzen nur Kälte und Gleichgültigkeit entgegenbrachte. Es schwoll darin von schmerzhaft entzückter Sehnsucht nach reineren Sphären auf" (p. 104).

After the Sunday sermons the pastors of the neighborhood liked to take dinner with the Schuberts and engage in a game of chess—the only worldly weakness of uncle Gustav.[18] "Denn der Kreis von Schmarutzern in Jesu Christ ist gewaltig," says the old drunkard Just in *Anna* (p. 304), "alte Herren, die gern gut essen, und junge Vikare, die nicht langen mit ihrem Gehalte, erscheinen fast täglich, und dann wiederum auch kreuzbrave Apostel aus Herrnhut, gottbegnadete Seelen, und Magen nicht minder begnadet." Though Luz at times shared this view, at other times he saw in their faces "den Ausdruck von Sanftmut, und der Ton ihrer Stimmen war ebenfalls weich und verschleiert, und sie hatten im Auge unleugbar ein seltsames Glänzen, tief und gut, und der sonstigen Gestalt durchaus widersprechend" (p. 391). Men like these or like Nathanael Schwarz in *Emanuel Quint* or like the goodnatured doting pastor in *Einsame Menschen* who pokes fun at Darwin's theory of the descent of man, Hauptmann has probably drawn from the living models whom he met at Lederose.

Though the formalistic teaching of the Breslau school and the pietistic air of Lederose had failed to make an orthodox Christian of Hauptmann, the unrestrained artist life at the Breslau academy, to which he was sent in the fall of 1880, could not stifle in him his innate religiosity.

Among the teachers at the Kunstakademie who exercised a lasting influence on his students was Professor Bräuer, the prototype of Michael Kramer. He was a man of iron will and according to Professor Max Fleischer, the fellow student of Hauptmann, he gave his students long incidental lectures on general, philosophic and artistic themes.[19] His must have been a profoundly religious mind, though far removed from the acceptance of traditional dogmas.

At the University of Breslau there was a circle of kindred souls, who had formed a sort of club in their school days at the

[18] Hülsen, p. 19.

[19] *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann*, edited by Walter Heynen, Berlin, 1922, p. 14.

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Gymnasium am Zwinger. Carl Hauptmann, the older brother of Gerhart, Alfred Plötz, the wellknown eugenist, and Ferdinand Simon, who later became the son-in-law of the socialist Bebel, were the guiding spirits. When Gerhart attended the academy, he and his friend, the later landscape painter Hugo Ernst Schmidt, joined them. "God and the devil they wanted to unite in one," says Schmidt's alter ego in *Michael Kramer*.[20] At first they had drawn inspiration from Felix Dahn and the white hot idealism of his overdrawn Germanic heroes. Under the influence of Tegnér's *Fritjofs Saga* Hauptmann started a drama *Ingeborg*. Wilhelm Jordan's rhapsodic manner inspired a play *Germanen und Römer*, in which a social note is distinctly present.[21] A presumably similar drama dealing with Tiberius was also begun as well as an epic in twelve cantos on Arminius. Hauptmann became an enthusiastic student of Goethe's *Faust* and recited from memory long selections to his friends. At a time when few people were interested in the forerunner of Naturalism the young poet discovered Grabbe, but he had little interest in the portrayal of naturalistic filth and for two weeks he refused to talk to his friend, the later Professor Block, because the latter had recommended to him the reading of Zola's *Nana*.[22]

Through Alfred Plötz, who at that time was something of a doctrinaire in the manner of Alfred Loth in *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, the others were converted to socialistic ideas. Karl Kautsky's writings opened up to them the world of Marx. But here too, Hauptmann went his own way. According to Max Fleischer, who, to be sure, stayed in Breslau only until the summer of 1881, Hauptmann's heart belonged rather to Odin and Thor than to Marx and Engels.[23] Konrad Hänisch, on the other hand, makes the statement on the poet's own authority that as early as 1879 he had been much interested in the history of colonization on a socialistic basis. That date would place the beginning of his socialistic leanings at the end of the Lederose

[20] *G. W.*, III, 164.

[21] Cf. Walter Reichart: Hauptmann's *Römer und Germanen*, PMLA, Vol. XLIV, No. 3, Sept. 1929.

[22] Konrad Hänisch, *Hauptmann und das deutsche Volk*, Berlin, 1922, p. 29.

[23] *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann*, p. 15.

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period, which seems doubtful. A few years later, according to the data given by Heinz Lux, the failure of the Icarian experiments in America perturbed him but little.[24]

Though the anti-religious agitation of the socialists had somewhat repelled him, he was thoroughly stirred up by their brutally honest criticism of existing social conditions. It was a truly Christian pity with the downtrodden and oppressed that tempted him even then to exchange the chisel for the pen. If his memory does not deceive him, he dates back to the last Breslau year his plan to issue a newly discovered fifth gospel as a sort of mystification of the public.[25]

It has been customary to place the awakening of his interest in Greece at a much later period. Against that assertion we have the poet's own statement in *Griechischer Frühling*[26] that in his eighteenth year he was already drawn toward Greece with the unquenchable longing of a Hyperion, and he recalls the memory of an enthusiastic teacher who revealed to him the beauties of the Acropolis so that his soul even then came to feel at home on this rock of the gods (p. 65).

The circle which Hauptmann entered in Jena in the fall of 1882 stood completely under the influence of Darwin and Haeckel. But just as little as he became a social-democratic partisan in Breslau did he subscribe body and soul to the monism of Haeckel. Contrary to current belief, he did not register for any of Haeckel's lectures,[27] though of course he was made familiar with the fundamental ideas of this apostle of Darwinism through conversations with his brother Carl and the other members of the "Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein." But Carl also had interests in religious questions, as is shown by the fact that he borrowed from the University library among other books not strictly in his chosen field, Hausrath's *Strauß und die Theologie seiner Zeit* and Schleiermacher's *Reden über die Religion*.[28]

[24] *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann*, p. 79.

[25] From a personal interview with the poet.

[26] *G. W.*, VI, 16.

[27] Information given by the Universitätsrentamt in Jena.

[28] Information kindly furnished by Dr. Otto Schmitz, librarian at the University of Jena.

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Haeckel's most popular work *Die Welträtsel*, to be sure, did not appear until 1899, but already in his *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte* of 1868 he takes a hostile attitude toward religion and particularly against Christianity. In common with the highly gifted pianist Max Müller, Hauptmann represented the artistic interests of this circle. They were "idlers of the mind, adventurers of the soul, seeking to return home to the lost paradise of man."[29] To the other more rationalistic members their utterances seemed like "the occult speaking with tongues of the Apocalypse."

The poet registered for Rudolf Eucken's course on "die Lebensanschauungen hervorragender Denker." These lectures probably formed the basis of Eucken's volume entitled *Die Lebensanschauungen der großen Denker*, the first edition of which appeared in 1890. In this book a special chapter is given to the ideas of Christ. Hauptmann also was an occasional guest in the philosopher's home,[30] but Eucken's influence may not have been very great, inasmuch as Max Müller later speaks rather disparagingly about his "harmonieseligen begeistert ins Allgemeine verschwebenden Idealismus, der die weisheitsbeflissenen Gemüter zu höheren Verzückungen führte."[31] The same critic does not, however, evaluate more highly "die verstandeskühle Philosophieklitterung Otto Liebmanns," who lectured on "Geschichte und Kritik der neuesten Philosophie."

Probably through his interest in sculpture, young Hauptmann also was inscribed for the course on "Pompeji und Herculanum"[27] by Gaedechens and on "Griechische Geschichte" by Gelzer. How seriously the poet at that time tried to immerse himself in the world of Greek thought is proved by the fact that the only books he borrowed from the University Library and kept for a month were Adolf Philippi, *Der Areopag, eine Untersuchung zur athenischen Verfassungsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1874; Georg Grote, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, Bd. 1–6, translated by N. N. W. Meißner, Leipzig, 1850 ff., and Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, Vols. 1–3.[28] Professor Böthlingk even

[29] *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann*, p. 17.
[30] Letter to the present writer from Eucken of July 23, 1923.
[31] *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann*, p. 18.

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persuaded him to take up the study of Greek. "Er blieb jedoch nur kurz dabei." [32]

Nine years later Hauptmann rather ironically calls this knowledge conveyed to him by university professors "eine klassische Taufe, der das Heidentum in meinem Blute indes nicht wich." [33] At this time the tragic fate of Periander, Melissa and Lycophron much occupied his mind.[34]

Arthur Böthlingk, who according to Max Müller lectured with fine understanding on Goethe and on "Die Geschichte der Revolution im Zeitalter von 1789 bis 1815," became his confidant with regard to his poetic productions.[35] A few years later Hauptmann complains bitterly about Böthlingk's "ossified views on poetry" in a letter to Max Müller of March 14, 1885.[36]

More clearly than ever before there revealed themselves to Hauptmann the contradictions of the modern world which calls itself Christian and in which the primitive Christian faith is scarcely to be found. Out of this inner conflict was born the *Promethidenloos*, the immediate occasion of which was a trip to the Mediterranean in the spring of 1883. It stands strongly under the influence of Byron's *Childe Harold* and of A. Lipiner's *Der gefesselte Prometheus* [35] but is fired with an indignation at social injustice which is entirely absent from Byron's work.

The melancholy-pessimistic and yet hopeful mood of this period of storm and stress is shown in the letter to Max Müller:

> Meine Überzeugung: Ich lebe, also leide ich! Ich leide, also klage ich! Ich klage, also hoffe ich! Ich hoffe, also kämpfe ich! Ich kämpfe, also liebe ich! Ich liebe, also tröste ich! Die Hoffnung ist mein Instinkt, gedanklich habe ich keine. . . . Ein Mensch zu sein, ist mein einziger Stolz und die Ausbildung und Vollendung meiner selbst der Kern meines Strebens.

After his journey to Italy, which originally had been intended to take him to the real land of his longing, Greece,[37]

[32] Letter to the present writer from Arthur Böthlingk of February 28, 1923.
[33] Letter to Emil Reich of October 6, 1891.
[34] *G. W.*, VI, 114.
[35] Letter from Böthlingk of February 28, 1923.
[36] *Berliner Tageblatt*, Nr. 349, August 8, 1922.
[37] *G. W.*, VI, 16.

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he became engaged to Marie Thienemann, a young girl brought up in a pietistic Moravian boarding school. In the fall of 1884[38] he stayed for a while at the Thienemann country-seat near Kötschenbroda, where *Das Erbe des Tiberius* was finished.[39] In May 1885 the young couple were married. After their wedding trip they moved to Berlin, where Gerhart was drawn into the whirl of the new literary movements and came in contact with the revolutionary young minds. "Nun erst," he writes in the letter to Emil Reich, quoted above, "lernte ich Turgenjew, Zola, Daudet, Tolstoi, etc. kennen, und soweit ich ihren Einfluß auf mich kontrollieren kann, besteht er darin, daß sie einen schon halb entschiedenen Konflikt in meinem Inneren zur endlichen Entscheidung brachten." It was in the literary club "Durch," which had been founded in the spring of 1886 under the chairmanship of Leo Berg, that Hauptmann became acquainted with these foreign models. He made his first entry in the contributors' book of the club on January 21, 1887.[40] Tolstoi especially began to have his effect about this time. A lengthy essay on him had appeared in the first volume of *Die Gesellschaft* in 1885; a German translation of his confessions was brought out in 1886 under the title *Meine Beichte.* Soon after, *Mein Glaube* and *Was sollen wir dann tun* were published. In 1889 the *Freie Bühne* was opened with a performance of *Die Macht der Finsternis.* "Eine Revolution meiner normalen Entwicklung vollzog sich," Hauptmann writes to Emil Reich, "als ich Tolstois *Macht der Finsternis* kennen lernte." Heinrich Hart in 1890 gave a masterly review of Tolstoi's position in modern intellectual life and the first volumes of the *Freie Bühne* are filled with references to the great Russian writer. Just as Hauptmann had in Jena become enthusiastic over Grabbe, he now read to his friends from Büchner's semi-naturalistic works, and he was much impressed with Arno Holz's *Buch der Zeit.*[41]

[38] Letter to H. E. Schmidt of September 15, 1884. *Germanic Review*, Vol. IV, No. 2, Apr. 1929.

[39] According to Hülsen (p. 35), the play was submitted to impresarios in Berlin and in Oldenburg without success and was never returned to the author. *Germanen und Römer*, which had been offered to Philip Reclam for his popular *Universal Bibliothek*, also was rejected.

[40] *Versteigerung einer Hauptmann Sammlung*, p. 31.

[41] Hülsen, pp. 41 and 43.

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In the Jena circle the order of the day had been a pronounced hostility to all religion, combined with a doctrinaire insistence on the infallibility of scientific deductions. In "Durch" Hauptmann found a number of men who in spite of their anti-clerical leanings had a real appreciation of the religious sense. Foremost among these were Bruno Wille and Wilhelm Bölsche.

Wille was considered already in his schooldays in Aachen "ein ketzerisch bedenkliches, wenn auch unterhaltsames Element." [42] In Bonn, he had after a year transferred from the theological to the philosophic faculty, since he felt he had come under the strong influence of materialism and did not believe he could be a theologian without getting into conflict with his own convictions.[43] Though he saw in "institutionalized Christianity only anti-rational formalism, outlived sentimental phrases, enslavement of the mind and hypocrisy in relation to political power, he was far from happy in the company of the anti-clericals, who were ordinary materialists without any capacity for religious experience." [44] His ideal was a free religion of the heart, for which he fought all his life, first as speaker of the left wing of the free-religious congregation in Berlin, then as one of the founders of the Giordano Bruno Bund and as the long-continued editor of the *Freidenker*. His panpsychic view of the world which harks back to Fechner he has laid down in the *Offenbarungen des Wachholderbaums* and in *Das lebendige All*. His attempt to unite dualism and monism in a higher synthesis and to bring about a reconciliation between rational science and religious longing is found in *Die Christusmythe als monistische Weltanschauung*. He also edited the posthumous works of Novalis.

When Wille first became acquainted with Hauptmann, it seemed to him "als ob eine Seele, die im Innersten daheim ist, von Zeit zu Zeit hinausspäht in die umgebende Wirklichkeit." [45] In the period from 1886 to 1892 he had many conversations with Hauptmann on religious and social problems, but modestly denied that he exerted any direct influence upon the young

[42] Bruno Wille, *Aus Traum und Kampf*, Berlin, 1920, p. 11.
[43] *op. cit.*, p. 13.
[44] *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann*, p. 96.
[45] *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann*, p. 90.

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Silesian.[46] In an interview Wille told the present author that he introduced Hauptmann to Dulk's *Der Irrgang des Lebens Jesu*, which was later to exercise such a striking influence on the rationalistic chronicler's conception of the *Fool in Christ*. Dulk's Jesus drama, in which Christ survives the crucifixion, may have furnished the inspiration for a project to treat these last years of Christ in novel form, which according to Moritz Heimann[47] occupied Hauptmann's mind after the completion of the *Ketzer von Soana*. One might say that Wille, with his profound philosophic training, helped him to formulate what was already inchoately present in his soul. "Mit tiefem Ernst und hingebender Innigkeit," Wille wrote the present writer, "hat er stets auf das gehört, was ich sagte, und auf religiösem Gebiete hatte ich stets den Eindruck: Sein Fühlen und Schauen kommt mir geradezu entgegen." In his contribution to Heynen's collection of essays Wille gives an excellent characterization of Hauptmann's difficulties and beliefs at that time. "Auf religiösem Gebiet quälte ihn ebenfalls der schroffe Abstand der öffentlichen Religion von seinem Innenleben. Frömmelei und Staatskirchentum, das den Glauben vorschreibt, waren ihm stets zuwider. Was er ersehnt, ist Hingabe an Ewiges, persönliche Andacht in freier Selbstbestimmung, das Walten jenes heiligen Geistes, der keinen Gedankenzwang duldet und Freier ist der Madonna 'Gottnatur.'"[48]

Wilhelm Bölsche had studied the natural sciences and become acquainted with Bruno Wille in "Durch." Hauptmann he met later in the poet's house in Erkner through Rudolf Lenz.[49] Bölsche was more of a scientist than Wille, but also interested himself in the religious questions of the day. The phenomena of spiritualism he treated in detail in his novel *Die Mittagsgöttin* (1891), thus making at least in part a confession of his conversion from a purely materialistic view of the world. In 1905 he edited the *Cherubinischer Wandersmann* of Angelus Silesius, with an illuminating introduction "Über den Wert der Mystik für unsere Zeit." In 1906 he resigned

[46] Letter to the present writer of April 4, 1923.
[47] From a personal interview with Moritz Heimann.
[48] *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann*, p. 97.
[49] Wilhelm Bölsche, *Auf dem Menschenstern*, Dresden, 1909, p. 249.

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from the State Church as he said, "Nicht um mich vom Religiösen abzuwenden, sondern um es mir zu retten." [50] Bölsche, like Wille, modestly disclaimed any direct influence.[51] In a conversation he stated that Hauptmann had pretty definitely formulated his views by 1889.

Dr. Conrad Küster, who gave the club "Durch" its name, edited the *Allgemeine Deutsche Universitätszeitung*, to which Hauptmann also contributed. Küster later brought together his own articles which had appeared in this journal from 1888 to 1905 under the title *Die Bekämpfung der Konfessionen durch Religion.* Most of these were probably written under the influence of Moritz von Egidy which began later than the period we are concerned with. Hauptmann declared that he kept aloof from this movement and remembered to have met Egidy only once in Munich.[52] In *Der Narr in Christo*, the *Ernste Gedanken* by Egidy are casually mentioned.

Two of the most prominent members of "Durch" were the brothers Heinrich and Julius Hart, whom Hauptmann used as models for the brothers Hassenpflug in *Emanuel Quint.*[53] Later they founded the *Neue Gemeinschaft* with Moritz von Egidy and attempted to lay the basis for a new philosophy of life, particularly Julius Hart in *Der neue Gott. Zukunftsland*, Band I. Im Kampf um eine Weltanschauung. They had little in common with Hauptmann, Julius later becoming an acrimonious critic of all his works. The younger Hart lacked the religious sense and could see no difference between religion and philosophy.

Two other members of "Durch" were the former student of theology Paul Ernst and Max Kretzer. The latter was a frequent visitor of Hauptmann's at Erkner and may have confirmed the poet in his naturalistic experiments. It is unreasonable to speak of plagiarism of the *Bergpredigt* (1890) in *Hanneles Himmelfahrt.* The modernisation of the Christ stories in Fritz von Uhde's paintings was all that was needed.

[50] Wilhelm Bölsche, "Ein Bekenntnis," *Deutsche Kultur*, II, 17, 1906.

[51] Letter to the present writer of March 31, 1923.

[52] From a conversation with Hauptmann.

[53] Rudolf Tombo, "The Identity of the Hassenpflugs in Hauptmann's *The Fool in Christ*," *Modern Language Notes*, January, 1913.

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The frame of mind of the poet around 1888 is well characterized by Adalbert von Hanstein in his monograph of 1898.[54]

Er selbst huldigte damals dem Entsagungspessimismus durchaus. Er meinte, alle Reden, die man halten, alle Dichtungen, die man schaffen könne, würden die Menschheit doch nicht ein Senfkorn vorwärts bringen. Bei alledem habe ich doch nie einen Menschen gesehen, dem das soziale Empfinden mehr in Fleisch und Blut, ja in das ganze Nervensystem übergegangen war als ihm. Nach Autodidaktenart las er alles, was von naturwissenschaftlicher, staatsmännischer oder theologischer Seite über Soziologie geschrieben wurde. Darwin und Marx waren seine Führer, ohne daß er zu einer bestimmten Partei sich bekannt hätte. Die Religion verwarf er zwar als eine "morsche Stütze" und hielt sie für eine überwundene Sache, aber ein starkes religiöses Empfinden . . . verriet sich doch überall. Auch mußte ihm klar werden, daß die befreiende Religion, die ihm vorschwebte, doch nur ein von allen Schlacken gereinigtes Urchristentum, wenigstens in moralischer Hinsicht, war. Und so trieb es ihn damals ein Epos über Jesus von Nazareth zu schreiben.

Bruno Wille possessed a long essay on Jesus, dating from this period.[55] This is probably identical with the *Jesusstudien* about which Hauptmann writes to Otto Brahm on March 4, 1890, that he cannot yet get the work ready for the printer.[56] Schlenther also reports on studies in the philosophy of religion, the reading of scientific works by Max Müller and the plan of writing a life of Jesus.[57] Bölsche recalls the time before *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, when he saw Hauptmann in Erkner surrounded with works on the origin of the Gospel and at work on a "Christuswerk." [58]

In the summer of 1888 Hauptmann spent a few months in Zürich and was a frequent visitor in the house of the positivist philosopher Richard Avenarius. His brother Carl and Alfred Plötz had registered for a psychiatric practicum with August Forel and Gerhart absorbed from the lively conversation be-

[54] Adalbert von Hanstein, *Gerhart Hauptmann*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 8.
[55] Letter of April 4, 1923.
[56] *Versteigerung einer Hauptmann Sammlung*, p. 23.
[57] Schlenther, p. 29.
[58] Letter of March 31, 1923.

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tween the two what he could use for his artistic purposes.[59] Forel recalled having seen Gerhart only once at the house of his brother Carl.[60] The Swiss professor was a confirmed opponent of the use of alcohol, absolutely devoid of prejudices and mercilessly concerned with doing away with superstitions and taboos, particularly in the sexual sphere. Through Alfred Plötz and brother Carl, enthusiastic admirers of Forel, the poet for a time became a total abstainer.[61] He was drawn to men who had the moral courage to lead their own lives and make a sacrifice for the sake of their convictions. In Johannes Guttzeit, a preacher of a natural manner of life, Hauptmann saw the model for the religious dreamer in *Der Apostel.* However, the similarity is purely external; the mystical and morbid element seems to have been entirely lacking in Guttzeit. The friends attended one of his sermons on the shore of the Lake of Zürich[62] and Carl, who had his own home, invited him to a meeting with the others.[63] Guttzeit simply preached a vegetarian diet, the brotherhood of man and a simple mode of dress. The "apostle's" views at this time may well be studied in his *Verbildungsspiegel*, Leipzig, 1892, of which the manuscript was finished at the time of the meeting.[64] After his return to Berlin, perhaps under the influence of Guttzeit, the poet clothed himself entirely according to the requirements of the Jäger regime. A vivid picture of his appearance at that time, which however is probably colored by later hostility, is given by Julius Hart.[65]

Er sah aus, wie das unverdorbene Kind der Berge und der Wälder, das schon durch sein äußeres Erscheinen allen Widerspruch gegen die Sitten der Weltstadt zu erheben schien. Er war ausgesprochener Natur- und Gesundheitsapostel und hatte in Zürich ein heiliges Gelöbnis abgelegt, seine Seele und seinen

[59] From a conversation with Dr. Plötz.

[60] Letter of March 31, 1923.

[61] *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann*, p. 106.

[62] From conversations with Hauptmann and Dr. Plötz.

[63] Johannes Guttzeit, "Wie ich Naturprediger wurde;" *Der Hausdoctor*, IX, Nr. 42, June 17, 1898.

[64] From a conversation with Guttzeit.

[65] Julius Hart, "Friedrichshagen. Aus meinen Lebenserinnerungen," *Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte*, February, 1919, p. 653.

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Leib nie wieder mit tierischer Kost und spirituösen Getränken zu beflecken, und trug seine vegetarischen und antialkoholischen Glaubensbekenntnisse mit dem strengen Eifer eines Proselytenmachers vor.

It has become apparent, it is hoped, from the cumulative evidence here presented that Hauptmann even in his early thinking never fully followed the lead of any individual or group of individuals, but that he always kept his mind and heart alert for new ideas and with rare eclecticism accepted only those which were in accord with his own nature. The correspondence with Wille and Bölsche proves that in more ways than one he has been able to anticipate the mysterious workings of the *Zeitgeist* and that he has shown a far greater independence of thought than many of his critics have given him credit for.

Nor did the poet even in his earlier years identify himself wholly with one view of life to the exclusion of all others. The foregoing pages have shown that he really has never been for any length of time simply an orthodox Christian, a pagan freethinker or a socialist. The strong interest in Greece in the Jena period which the correspondence with Böthlingk and the records of the Jena library reveal comes to us as a distinct surprise. And yet it is simply one instance more of that most characteristic quality of the older Hauptmann, of being able to see all sides of life and to see them deeply and fearlessly, which must be dated back to the first years of his artistic apprenticeship.

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THE LITERARY APPRENTICESHIP OF ARTHUR SCHNITZLER

By OTTO P. SCHINNERER

IN an article entitled "The Early Works of Arthur Schnitzler," published in a previous number of *The Germanic Review*,[1] the writer listed and discussed, so far as he was then able to trace these works, all of Schnitzler's contributions to periodicals up to 1895 which are not contained in the collected edition and not published in book-form. After further researches in Vienna it is now possible to supplement and complete this list.

I. Bibliographical

A few bibliographical corrections and changes should be made. The poem "Wandernde Musikanten" was quoted from a clipping from the *Prager Tageblatt* under date of May 9, 1926, as the Viennese newspaper *Der Tag* in which it had originally appeared was at the time inaccessible. It now appears that the date for the above reference was erroneous, for the poem actually was published in *Der Tag* on May 9, 1926, on a page called "Der Tag der Jugend" (p. 22), under the caption "Was sie versprachen—was sie hielten." The title of the paper in which the sketch "Über den Patriotismus" appeared is not *Münchner freier Landesbote*, but *Der freie Landesbote*, hrsg. v. Th. Bösl, München.[2] The reference in the bibliography for the sketch "Er wartet auf den vazierenden Gott" was given merely as *Deutsche Wochenschrift*, 1887. This should be corrected to read Vol. IV, Nr. 50, December 12, 1886, pp. 644 f. Furthermore, the reader, checking this reference and finding that the writer, in giving the contents, has added a few sentences not contained in the original, might credit him with a

[1] Cf. Vol. IV, No. 2 (April, 1929), pp. 153–197.

[2] Richard Specht, *Arthur Schnitzler. Der Dichter und sein Werk. Eine Studie.* Berlin, 1922 (S. Fischer Verlag), p. 12, mistakenly gives the title *Bayrischer freier Landesbote.*

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wild imagination. This, however, is due to the fact that the discussion was based on Schnitzler's original manuscript and not on the printed article. The poem "Anfang vom Ende," listed as reprinted in *Der Merker*, was originally published in *Deutsche Dichtung*, Vol. XII (1892), p. 192.[3]

The following titles are to be added to the bibliography:

"Liebeslied der Ballerine," *Der freie Landesbote*, November 13, 1880.

"Wie wir so still an einem Tische saßen," *An der schönen blauen Donau*, Vol. I, No. 20 (November 1, 1886), p. 600.

"Sprüche," *Deutsche Wochenschrift*, Vol. VI, Nr. 21, p. 8.

"Der gute Irrtum," *Die Gesellschaft*, Vol. IX, Nr. 11 (November, 1893), p. 1416.

"Wiener Spiegel: Spaziergang," *Deutsche Zeitung*, December 6, 1893.

"Der Witwer," *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 25, 1894.

"Käm' ein Großer uns wieder," *Ibid.*, April 14, 1895.

II. The Earliest Verse

"Liebeslied der Ballerine,"[4] written on August 20, 1880, bears the distinction of being the first lines from Schnitzler's pen to appear in print, antedating by two days the publication of "Über den Patriotismus" in the same paper. It reads as follows:

Mir wird so süß zu Mute,
Du mein herzliebster Bankier,
Wenn ich dich zu meinen Füßen
Und deine Banknoten seh.

Doch steh nur auf, mein Geliebter,
Gern glaub ich an deine Treu—
Denn, wie ich eben bemerke,
Ist ein Tausender dabei.

Schnitzler himself humorously remarks that from the tone of this poem conscientious students might easily have forecast

[3] The poem was later included in the anthology entitled *Die deutsche Lyrik des 19. Jahrhunderts. Eine poetische Revue* zusammengestellt von Theodor von Sosnosky, Stuttgart, 1901, pp. 396 f.

[4] Specht, *op. cit.*, 13, erroneously refers to this as "Liebeslied an eine Ballerina."

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the later author of *Reigen*, *Ruf des Lebens* and other pornographic writings, whereas "Über den Patriotismus" reveals his anarchistic, anti-patriotic tendencies which later crop out, for instance, in *Leutnant Gustl* and *Freiwild*. Apart from this, the uniqueness of the poem consists, not in being an isolated phenomenon in Schnitzler's early creative period, for there are literally scores of poems still in existence, written during the author's youth and early manhood, but in the fact of its having been published at this time, and in a conservative, clerical paper at that. How did this come about? A friend and schoolmate of the author who ran away from the Gymnasium became an actor and wrote tragedies in his spare moments, finally went to Munich and somehow secured a position on *Der freie Landesbote*. With the laudable desire of serving his paper by securing new contributors, he wrote to his friend Schnitzler, asking him whether he could not send in some of his literary endeavors. Schnitzler—he was just eighteen—accommodated him by forwarding the two works mentioned. No one was more surprised than Schnitzler when he received a letter from his friend, informing him that his works had not only been accepted but actually published and paid for. There was only one hitch. The writer of the letter begged Schnitzler to please lend him the amount of the payment. The latter, of course, assented, but it was an unfortunate experience for a budding author. Soon afterward this paper was discontinued and the obliging friend left the Old World behind him to seek his fortunes in America, where, after first serving as a cook, he later became the proud owner of a delicatessen store in Brooklyn. He died some years ago.

During the ensuing years Schnitzler, as mentioned in the writer's previous article, became so engrossed in his medical studies that his literary work remained a mere hobby for idle hours, and he made no further attempt to find publication for it. But in 1886 a new periodical was founded in Vienna, *An der schönen blauen Donau*, which attracted attention and became popular primarily because of its clever and witty "Briefkasten." Since the magazine also published in its regular pages poems and other belletristic literature, Schnitzler ventured to submit

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three poems to the editorial staff. But instead of either accepting or rejecting them, the editors turned them over to the "Briefkasten," where one of them was published with rather disparaging comment. Again the author was done out of his remuneration without even the satisfaction of having some brilliant wit expended upon him. The poem selected had been written in April, 1883. The "Briefkasten" commented as follows:

Von den drei Gedichten gefiel uns das "Geheimnis" am besten. Wir veröffentlichen dasselbe an d i e s e r Stelle, weil es einen pathologischen Zug enthält, der vielleicht dem einen oder dem andern unserer dilettierenden Poeten zur Lehre dient. Das Gedicht lautet:

Wie wir so still an einem Tische saßen,
Als hätten wir uns früher nie gesehn,
Und ganz geruhig unsern Spargel aßen,
Als wäre gar nichts zwischen uns geschehn.

Und wie, als wenn ich's nicht am besten wüßte—
Die Leute mir erzählten, wer du bist,
Und ich zum Abschied dir das Händchen küßte,
Als hätt' ich deinen Nacken nie geküßt.[5]

Liebende, die Spargel essen! Die Komik dieses Bildes war gewiß keine beabsichtigte. Die Gewissenhaftigkeit, mit welcher der Dichter über das Menu der Tafel berichtet, bringt die hübsche Idee um, die seinen Versen zu Grunde liegt.

A favorite episodic motive in Schnitzler's works is that of love enjoyed clandestinely. Körner,[6] citing instances in ten different works where this motive occurs, quotes this early poem to show that it is deeply rooted in the author's own experience. We shall content ourselves with quoting but one passage from "Blumen" (1894) where a similar motive is found in a prose version. The young man narrating the story meets the unsuspecting uncle of his mistress in the Prater:

Und bevor er den Garten verließ, blieb er noch bei mir stehen und, wie ein großes Geheimnis, teilte er mir mit, daß

[5] This poem was also included in the anthology edited by Sosnosky, p. 396.

[6] Josef Körner, *Arthur Schnitzlers Gestalten und Probleme*, Amalthea-Bücherei, XXIII. Band, Zürich, Leipzig, Wien, 1921, pp. 67 f.

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seine Nichte für mich schwärme!—Und mir kam das so im Halbdusel eigentümlich und lustig und beinahe abenteuerlich vor, daß der alte Mann mir das hier erzählte, . . . mir, der ich das so gut wußte, und dem noch der Duft ihres letzten Kusses auf den Lippen lag.[7]

The *Deutsche Wochenschrift*, which in 1886 had published four aphorisms and the sketch "Er wartet auf den vazierenden Gott," was favored in 1888 with eleven "Sprüche" by Schnitzler. Seven of these were later included among the nine "Sprüche in Versen" published in 1891 in *An der schönen blauen Donau.* Some of these were quoted and discussed in the present writer's previous article. Such "Sprüche" are invaluable for establishing Schnitzler's real attitude toward certain problems and questions, at least for the particular period of his life when they were written. It may not seem amiss, therefore, to quote a few of the more illuminating ones.

As a student and practitioner of medicine Schnitzler was a whole-hearted devotee of science and a sceptic in all matters concerning orthodox religion. The worship of the Bible, therefore, as the symbol of orthodoxy, in that enlightened age strikes him as an anachronism:

> Sie reden von Fortschritt und Wissenschaft,
> Doch bleibt die Bibel ihr Entzücken:
> Ach, Kinder sind sie und spielen
> Mit ihrer Väter Krücken.

He does not, of course, believe that absolute truth can be attained in this world of ours, and all his life he has stressed the relativity, not only of standards of conduct, but of truth itself. Nevertheless, he seems to feel much more could be accomplished if we made better use of our reasoning faculties and did not stop short before reaching the end of the trail:

> In glühender Wahrheit Sommersonne
> Frau Logik ihrer Wege zieht
> Und ruft, nun sei der Pfad zu Ende,
> Weil sie geblendet nichts mehr sieht.

The doctrine of heredity which held such sway over the

[7] *Ges. W., Erz. Sch.*, I, 119.

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generation in the latter part of the nineteenth century also cast its spell over Schnitzler:

> Von aller Buße sind wir befreit,
> Es darf uns niemand schuldig sprechen:
> Denn uns regiert die Erblichkeit,
> Und wir begehn unsrer Väter Verbrechen!

Finally, among these solemn and serious cerebrations the "süßes Mädel" is not entirely lacking:

> Dasselbe Schicksal, dieselben Schmerzen
> Erleben große Geister und große Herzen:
> Genarrt von der Menschheit werden die einen,
> Von Mädchen die andern, von süßen, kleinen!

In 1893 *Die Gesellschaft*, which had previously published the poems "Morgenandacht" and "Ohnmacht," brought another contribution from Schnitzler, the poem "Der gute Irrtum," written in 1891. The present writer frankly admits that he is at a loss to present a fully satisfactory interpretation of these verses. Upon first reading they seem tolerably clear and intelligible. Their author seems to glorify a more platonic love relationship rather than one of utter abandon to the erotic instincts. Perhaps it is also meant to express the author's respect for and appreciation of a woman's right to her own individuality. But then, how is one to square the contents of the poem with the title? Is it all meant ironically? For the reader's consideration it seems best to quote the poem in its entirety:

> Von beßrer Keuschheit und von neuer Art
> Ist jene Liebe, die wir beide meinen . . .
> Wir sind nicht wie die andern, wohlgepaart,
> Ein Mann, ein Weib—sehnsüchtig, sich zu einen!
>
> Wir wollen nicht die Willenlosen sein,
> Die ein gewaltiger Naturtrieb meistert,
> In uns zog nie ein Selbstvergessen ein,
> Und unsre Lust hat niemals uns entgeistert!
>
> Wir fühlen nie, wie unser Rausch verrinnt
> In eines trunknen Glückes Allgemeinheit . . .
> Und daß wir immer b l e i b e n, was wir s i n d—
> Ist unsrer Sünden Stolz und ihre Reinheit!

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In some respects the poem might be looked upon as expressing, if not the conscious sentiments, at least the subconscious attitude of Anatol and similar characters from Schnitzler's early creative period, although it would undoubtedly be too flattering to Anatol to consider him capable of such effusions. Nevertheless, the lines

> In uns zog nie ein Selbstvergessen ein,
> Und unsre Lust hat niemals uns entgeistert

not only characterize Anatol's fondness for introspection, his constant watchfulness over his emotions, but might well serve as a motto for the entire generation of "Jung W[illegible]" in the early nineties.

For its Easter number the *Wiener Allgemeine [illegible]itung* in April, 1895, submitted to a number of prominent pe[illegible]onages a "Rundfrage" worded as follows: "Für welches Gewesene (Mensch, Institution, Kunstform, Idee, Ereignis) würden Sie Auferstehung wünschen?" In reply Schnitzler sent in the following distichs:

Käm' ein Großer uns wieder, und wär' er erst gestern geschieden,
Wandelt' er einsam und fremd in der lebendigen Welt.
Wächse Vergangnes um uns mit blühendem Scheine des Lebens,
Staunten und schauerten wir, fremd und einsam gleich dem.
Denn es heißt ja leben: vielfältig verstrickt in ein Netz sein,
Dran ein jeder Moment neue Fäden uns spinnt;
Und nicht nur, daß wir sind, gibt uns des Daseins Empfindung,
Auch, daß andres vorbei, ist unsres Daseins ein Teil.
Tot ist ein Wiedererstandenes; lebendig oft das Gewesene,
Da seinen Sinn es im All nur als Gewesnes erfüllt.

A profound, but clear and unequivocal answer to such a foolish newspaper question! Perhaps it would be going too far to read between the lines anti-Christian sentiments directed against the doctrine of Christ's Resurrection. He does point out, however, the impossibility, futility and undesirability of a resurrection such as the paper referred to. And the infinite complexity of life which he so frequently has portrayed and attempted to unravel in his writings is beautifully phrased in the lines:

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Denn es heißt ja leben: vielfältig verstrickt in ein Netz sein,
Dran ein jeder Moment neue Fäden uns spinnt.

III. The Earliest Prose

After Schnitzler's discouraging experience with the "Briefkasten" of *An der schönen blauen Donau* in 1886 he vowed never again to submit any of his writings to a periodical, at least not to this particular one. Nevertheless, we have found that in 1889 his name again appeared as a contributor to this very same journal. Thereby hangs a tale too. At this period he associated with a friend a few years his junior who, however, already had both feet firmly planted in the literary life of Vienna. The latter found it incomprehensible that an obviously talented writer like Schnitzler did not take the pains to get his work published. When the latter persisted in his refusal, his friend took matters into his own hand, dictated a letter to one of the editors of the periodical, enclosed one of Schnitzler's novelettes and posted it. Almost by return mail an answer came from the editor praising the story and inviting the gifted author to a personal interview. Other meetings followed and a friendship developed so that in the following summer editor and author took a walk together from Traunkirchen to Mariazell. Shortly before arriving at their destination, the editor confided to Schnitzler the reasons for having accepted his contribution. It was not because he was so impressed with its superior literary qualities, but because he desired an excuse to make his personal acquaintance. He then related the following story. One day a young girl upon whom the editor lavished his attentions told him of her former and present admirers, all of whom had likewise sought her favor in vain. Among others she mentioned the name of Arthur Schnitzler. The very next morning's mail brought the novelette his friend had posted. This seemed such an odd coincidence that the editor determined to meet the author, and not even the reading of the story could deter him. Imagine the editor's surprise when Schnitzler informed him that he had met the young lady in question but once, that his heart had remained unaffected, and that she had no reason to assume anything else. She had simply duped the

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editor. We have refrained from mentioning names as both this obliging literary friend and the editor are still well-known members of literary and journalistic circles in Germany.

In 1893 the *Deutsche Zeitung* began publishing a series of feuilletons under the general title "Wiener Spiegel." The editors printed the following explanatory footnote:

Der 'Wiener Spiegel' soll in losen Skizzen die Wiener Welt, oben und unten, Gesellschaft und Volk, Salon und Straße bringen. Das ganze Wiener Leben will er Stück für Stück allmählich erzählen. Beiträge haben Ferdinand v. Saar, Emil Marriot, Ada Christen, C. Karlweis, Gustav Schwarzkopf, Vincenz Chiavacci, Karl Rabis, Theodor Taube, Hugo v. Hofmannsthal, Arthur Schnitzler, Dr. Beer-Hofmann, Hermann Bahr und andere versprochen.

The series was ushered in by Arthur Schnitzler with an article entitled "Spaziergang." Four friends take a stroll to the outskirts of the city. Here they engage in a discussion about the enigma of the city of Vienna, the mysterious attraction it exerts and their several reactions to it. Hans takes a sentimental attitude, reveling in vague, melancholy reminiscences, Max is the cold and sceptical observer, Stefan deludes himself with historical recollections, whereas Fritz desires to plunge into the very midst of this life, identifying himself completely with the inhabitants and experiencing both their joys and their sorrows. In the light of Schnitzler's later work, which is so steeped in the atmosphere of Vienna that one may justly term it the very quintessence of Viennese life, a certain prophetic significance seems to attach to Fritz' words:

Daß ich es (Wien) liebe, gebe ich zu, daß ich es kenne, nicht. Und ich möchte es kennen! Ich kenne die Straßen, die Gebäude, ich kenne die Mundart, die der Wiener spricht, ich kenne Typen, Gesellschaftskreise, ich kenne den Korso auf dem Ring, das Treiben im Prater, die Burgmusik—aber was den Duft dieser Dinge macht, und wieso es eigentlich kommt, daß uns oft in einem stillen Praterspaziergange, oder auf dem alten Platz vor der Minoritenkirche, oder aus einem Worte eines süßen Wiener Mädels die ganze rührende und reiche Seele der Stadt entgegenflutet, das, d a s möcht' ich wissen.

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On the other hand one must guard against identifying the author too closely with the characters he has created and the opinions they put forward. Every creative artist will resolve the complexity of his nature by creating a variety of characters, all of whom may be to some extent his spiritual and intellectual offspring. It would be equally justifiable in the article under discussion to attribute to the poet both the sentimental melancholy of Hans and the sceptical disillusion of Max, just as he has projected himself both into Anatol and Max. In view of the fact that this feuilleton was published in the same year that *Anatol* appeared, it seems more than a mere coincidence that in both works the disillusioned sceptic bears the name Max. At any rate, some relationship seems to exist between these two characters. It seems not impossible, furthermore, that Schnitzler has here revealed a change that was going on within himself and which a few years later had sufficiently matured him for the writing of *Reigen*. This work which tears the veil with ruthless objectivity from so many shams and pretences forms so striking a contrast to the sentimental and playful *Anatol* scenes that the author seems to have undergone the same transformation that Max in this feuilleton describes to his friends:

Plötzlich hatte es (Wien) sich von mir abgewandt. Alles mißglückte mir, was ich in Kunst und Leben unternahm. Ich nannte es ein Mißglücken, während doch eigentlich nichts anderes geschah, als daß sich meine Art zu schauen änderte. Ich klage nicht darüber, denn es mußte offenbar so kommen, und nirgends in der Welt wäre es mir anders ergangen. Es gibt Leute, die ihre Jugend nie los werden—wie ihr zum Beispiel! Ich aber gehöre zu denen, welche eines Morgens aufwachen und keine Freude am Spiel mehr finden. Da kommt wohl auch eine Zeit der Bitterkeit, in der man die andern beneidet, die weiterspielen. Zuerst ist nur das schale Gefühl da, daß man etwas verloren hat. Ja, man hat die Kinderfreude verloren, an alles so nahe heranzutreten, daß man es berühren kann. Die Verwandtschaft ist einem abhanden gekommen, man gehört nicht mehr dazu. Und da ist man eine Zeitlang einsam und arm, denn die Einsamkeit findet uns nicht reif, sie macht uns erst dazu. Dann aber kommt die große Klarheit. Man läßt einfach seine Sinne die Welt einsaugen. Man verzichtet darauf,

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die hundert Spiele mit der Welt zu spielen, denen ihr die schönen Namen gebt. Ich bin ja noch nicht so weit, daß ich gern darauf verzichte, aber wartet nur, bis meine Sinne sich zur "großen Wahrheit" werden durchgerungen haben. Vielleicht kann ich euch dann Dinge erzählen, die euch staunen machen werden. Ihr wißt ja doch im Grunde nur, was i h r zum Leben sagt. Ihr bekommt Antworten aus der Tiefe eurer Seele und ihr meint, die Welt hat gesprochen.

In its Christmas number of December 25, 1894, the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* published a short story by Schnitzler of somewhat over 3000 words, entitled "Der Witwer." In the evening after the funeral of his young wife, who had died rather suddenly after an illness of only two days, the elderly widower Richard finds himself all alone in his country villa not far from Vienna. Hosts of friends and acquaintances had attended the burial and extended their condolences. Only one had been absent, his dearest friend Hugo, for whom he longed most. The latter was spending his vacation on the North Sea and had been notified too late to return in time. Entering his wife's room and breathing the familiar atmosphere again, Richard breaks down and gives way to unrestrained tears. But the thought that his friend would be with him soon again braces him and is some measure of consolation. Sitting down at his wife's desk and almost absentmindedly rummaging through the drawers, he comes across a neatly tied package of letters which unmistakably reveal Hugo as his wife's lover. At one stroke he comprehends everything. He yearns for the relief of burning grief, but for the moment has only the sensation of an uncanny clearness. He knows that the usual reaction will not be long in coming:

Und er wird ja auch gewiß—morgen oder in wenigen Stunden schon—wird er all das Furchtbare empfinden, das jeder Mensch in solchen Fällen empfinden muß . . . er ahnt es ja, wie sie über ihn kommen wird, die namenlose Wut, daß dieses Weib zu früh für seine Rache gestorben; und wenn der andere wiederkehrt, so wird er ihn mit diesen Händen niederschlagen wie einen Hund. Ah, wie sehnt er sich nach diesen wilden und ehrlichen Gefühlen.

After further meditation and reflection, however, he takes a more charitable view of the offence:

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Er weiß es ja und hat es ja selbst erfahren, daß es Wallungen des Blutes gibt, die ihre Wellen kaum bis in die Seele treiben, und es ist ihm, als wenn er der Toten alles verzeihen könnte, was s i e wieder rasch vergessen hätte, irgend wen, den er nicht gekannt, irgend einen, der ihm wenigstens nichts b e d e u t e t hätte—nur diesen nicht, den er so lieb gehabt hat, wie keinen andern Menschen und mit dem ihn ja mehr verbindet, als ihn je mit seinem eigenen Weib verbunden, die ihm niemals auf den dunkleren Pfaden seines Geistes gefolgt ist; die ihm Lust und Behagen, aber nie die tiefe Freude des Verstehens gegeben. Und hat er denn nicht immer gewußt, daß die Frauen leere und verlogene Geschöpfe sind, und ist es ihm denn nie in den Sinn gekommen, daß sein Weib ein Weib ist, wie alle andern, leer, verlogen und mit der Lust zu verführen? Und hat er denn nie gedacht, daß sein Freund den Weibern gegenüber, so hoch er sonst gestanden sein mag, ein Mann ist wie andere Männer, und dem Rausch eines Augenblicks erliegen konnte?

No, he cannot hate this man, for he understands only too well. He can peer so deeply into the souls of others that it almost startles him. It almost seems as though this had happened not to him but to some one else; that he was involved seemed a mere accidental circumstance. Finally a deep feeling of compassion wells up within him for this man who had been overtaken by this wretched passion as by a stroke of fate, who probably suffered more than he himself; this man who mourned a woman he had loved and who was now to face a friend whom he had deceived. A few moments later he hears steps outside and knows it is Hugo. He wavers for a second, but then firmly resolves to say to him: I understand everything. Remain with me. In the course of their conversation Hugo confides to him his recent engagement to a girl with whom he had been in love ever since winter. Upon hearing this, Richard picks up the letters, throws them in his face and hurls at him the word: "Scoundrel!"

Apart from the fact that this story is a variation of a theme also treated in "Die Frau des Weisen" (1896), "Die Toten schweigen" (1897), and "Der Tod des Junggesellen" (1907), in all three of which the deceived husbands generously forgive their unfaithful wives, it is particularly fascinating because it was later transformed into the one-act play "Die Gefährtin"

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(1898). It is for purposes of comparison that we have given the contents somewhat at length. The actual setting in both versions remains the same, almost to the exact phraseology. In the novelette we have the following scene: "Und heute hat man sie hinausgeführt, dort über die allmählich ansteigende Straße, die er jetzt vom Balkon aus, wo er auf seinem Lehnstuhl sitzt, bis zu ihrem Ende verfolgen kann, bis zu den niederen weißen Mauern, die den kleinen Friedhof umschließen, auf dem sie ruht." The stage directions in the playlet read: "Im Hintergrund eine große offene Tür, die auf den Balkon hinausführt. Blick auf die Landschaft: eine Straße, allmählich steigend, die weit hinausführt, abgeschlossen durch eine Friedhofsmauer."

In visualizing the scene even the general color scheme must have made an indelible impression upon the poet. In the earlier version the widower lights the blue candles, and in the play light, mostly bluish colors are prescribed for the wall paper and furniture. The two characters in the story are still rather hazy. Nothing is said of Richard's profession or occupation. Of Hugo we know only that he is thirty years old and that Richard occasionally called for him at his office. In the dramatic version both characters are more individualized and the picture in general rounded out. Richard becomes Professor Robert Pilgram, apparently on the medical staff of the university. Despite the death of his wife he has determined to take up his work again at the beginning of the new semester. In fact he plans to go to his laboratory now and then before the beginning of October, as two Americans have been working there since the end of August. He is devoted to his subject and imbued with a deep sense of responsibility. To his friends he remarks: "Aber selbst wenn es nicht Trost wäre,—es ist sehr die Frage, ob wir das Recht haben, aus unsrer kurzen Existenz ein Stück einfach hinauszuwerfen." And later he says: "Ein Mensch, der einen Beruf hat, ich meine nicht eine Beschäftigung, einen B e r u f, kann sich überhaupt nie einsam fühlen." He had been married ten years to his wife, here named Eveline. There is no mention of a child, although in the first version the grandparents took the child back to the city with them after the funeral.

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Hugo is changed to Doctor Alfred Hausmann, Pilgram's assistant. Instead of having met his fiancée the previous winter, he had been in love with her for two years and secretly betrothed for one. The North Sea resort is definitely located at Scheveningen. Two friends and colleagues of Robert Pilgram are introduced, Professor Werkmann and Professor Brand, clearly sketched with a few strokes, but serving primarily to facilitate the exposition. Finally Olga Merholm, a married woman, living in a neighboring villa, is added to the cast, for several reasons. The writer of drama can portray character and advance the action only through the medium of dialog, and Olga is indispensible for this, but toward the end of the play she also serves some other vital purpose of the author. But there are more important changes that reveal the poet's altered conception of the widower and the situation in general. In the original draft Richard learns the truth about his wife's infidelity only after her death, and this unexpected revelation accounts for his rapid change of mood from rage to understanding and compassion. In the one-acter Professor Pilgram has all along been aware of the illicit relationship between his wife and his assistant. He had intended to throw the entire contents of the desk into the fire without looking at them. He realizes that youth belongs to youth and is fully reconciled to his lot. Nor does he bear Alfred any grudge. His attitude is clearly revealed by his words to Olga:

Er darf nie erfahren, daß ich es weiß—er würde aus jedem Worte irgend was heraushören wie Verzeihung und Großmut, ah—das will ich nicht. Es ist nichts von alledem. Ich habe ihn nie gehaßt—ich hasse ihn nicht—hier ist durchaus kein Grund zum Hassen—und keiner zum Verzeihen—ich verstehe es viel zu gut.—Z u i h m h a t s i e g e h ö r t—vergessen wir doch nicht das Wesentliche. Lassen wir uns doch nicht gleich wieder von der Macht der äußeren Beziehungen so verwirren. Z u i h m hat sie gehört, nicht zu mir. Und es hätte ja nicht mehr so lange dauern können— . . . Glauben Sie, ich hab' es nicht gesehen, wie sich die beiden ihrer Lügen geschämt—wie sie gelitten haben?

He has looked forward with longing to the moment when they should ask for their freedom. It is only after learning of

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Alfred's engagement and all the facts surrounding it that the whole matter takes on a different aspect for Robert, so that now he feels impelled to say to his assistant:

Ich hätte dich vom Boden aufgehoben, wenn dich der Schmerz gebrochen hätte—an ihr Grab wär' ich mit dir gegangen—wenn es deine Geliebte wäre, die da draußen liegt—aber du hast sie zu deiner Dirne gemacht—und dieses Haus hast du bis an die Decke mit Schmutz und Lüge so angefüllt, daß mich ekelt—und darum—darum, ja darum jag' ich dich hinaus.

The story ends with Richard calling Hugo a scoundrel. The playlet, however, has a significant sequel. Olga enlightens Robert as to Eveline's sophistication in this affair. The latter knew what she meant to Alfred, who neither deceived nor humiliated her. She had been prepared for his getting married some day as a matter of course. And when he informed her of his engagement she wept no more for him than he for her. They never would have come to Robert to ask for their freedom, for the freedom they desired they had. When Professor Pilgram demands to know the reasons why Olga had kept this knowledge from him so long, she replies:

Solange sie gelebt hat, hätte dieses erbärmliche nichtige Abenteuer—einfach von ihrem Dasein—von ihrem Lächeln den Schein des Wichtigen geliehen—Sie hätten nicht fühlen können—was Sie heute fühlen müssen, da sie jenseits Ihres Zornes ist—und was Ihnen den Frieden geben wird: wie fern, wie unendlich fern von Ihnen diese Frau gelebt hat—die zufällig in diesem Hause gestorben ist.

The poet obviously desires us to believe that this effect has been achieved, for in the final stage directions we read: "Er atmet tief, lächelt dann wie befreit, geht ab."

Specht [8] draws attention to the similarity between "Die Gefährtin" and a short story by Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach called "In letzter Stunde." Here too an elderly professor is married to a young wife whom he idolizes and who reciprocates his love. A young colleague, a former pupil of the professor and his probable successor, is a daily guest in their home.

[8] *Op. cit.*, 156.

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Without fully realizing it, bonds of love are forged between the two young people, but never a word is spoken between them. On her deathbed, however, she betrays her true feelings for him, and under the stress of emotion he likewise utters words of love and thus comforts her in her last moments. The professor, witnessing this scene, stands aghast. But when his young friend asks the husband to strike him down, the latter raises him up and thanks him for having made death so easy for his beloved.

That Schnitzler was influenced by this story is, of course, out of the question, for "In letzter Stunde" was not published until 1901, in the collection *Aus Spätherbsttagen*. It can be positively stated on the other hand that the initial impulse for the writing of "Der Witwer" came from a remark made to the author by a certain Dr. K., who had married a young girl and who said: "Well, they tell me that she'll deceive me. What of it? . . . I have one happy year before me." This specific remark does not occur in the story, but it was utilized and elaborated in the play. Robert confides to Olga:

Glauben Sie, daß ich vor zehn Jahren irgend welche Illusionen hatte? Das wäre recht töricht, wenn man eine Frau nimmt, die um zwanzig Jahre jünger ist. Ich wußte ganz gut, daß mir höchstens ein oder zwei schöne Jahre bevorstehen—ja—darüber war ich mir sehr klar. Da kann man doch nicht von Illusionen reden. Aber wieviel Jahre sind denn überhaupt unser? Das Leben ist nicht lang genug, daß man ohne weiteres auf ein Jahr des Glücks verzichten dürfte. Es genügt ja auch, —insbesondere was die Frauen anbelangt—ich meine natürlich die Frauen, in die man verliebt ist. Mit denen wird man sehr rasch fertig. Es gibt mancherlei, das viel wichtiger ist. . . . Der Inhalt meines Lebens ist sie nie gewesen—auch in jenem Jahre des Glückes nicht. In einem gewissen Sinne war sie mehr als der Inhalt—der Duft, wenn Sie wollen—aber gerade der Duft mußte sich natürlich verlieren.—Das sind ja ganz selbstverständliche Dinge. Wir hatten nichts mehr gemeinsam, als die Erinnerung an ein kurzes Glück. Und ich sage Ihnen, diese Art von gemeinsamen Erinnerungen scheidet eher, als sie bindet.

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IV. Schnitzler as a Medical Writer

Before concluding this study, it may not seem inappropriate to discuss briefly Schnitzler's activity as a writer on medical subjects.[9] Shortly after he had taken his degree in 1885 he began to review books for the *Wiener Medizinische Presse, Organ für praktische Ärzte.* Redigiert von Dr. Joh. Schnitzler, k. k. Regierungsrat, Prof. an der Wiener Universität und Direktor der Allgemeinen Poliklinik. This journal had been founded in 1860 by Schnitzler's father who had remained its editor ever since. The index for Vol. XXVII (1886) lists seven book reviews by Dr. Arthur Schnitzler. The column numbers, however, are often inaccurate and many of his contributions are unsigned. His very first review, as yet unsigned, appeared on January 31 and discussed H. Eichhorst, *Handbuch der speziellen Pathologie und Therapie.* In the issue of May 16 a review of Dr. Konrad Rieger, *Grundriß der medizinischen Elektrizitätslehre für Ärzte und Studierende,* is signed Dr. A——r. Finally on December 19 a criticism of *Das chlorsaure Kali, seine physiologischen, toxischen und therapeutischen Wirkungen* by Dr. J. von Mering bears the signature Dr. A. Sch. It would be entirely unjustifiable, however, to assume that the titles of these books indicate the reviewer's personal leanings and interests, for he simply reviewed those books which his father handed out to him without having much choice in the matter.

At the end of 1886 Schnitzler's father severed his relations with this journal after twenty-seven years of faithful service, due to some disagreement with the publishers. A new medical journal was launched, however, and on January 2, 1887, the first number made its appearance. The title was *Internationale Klinische Rundschau. Centralblatt für die gesamte praktische Heilkunde, sowie für die Gesamtinteressen des ärztlichen Standes.* By an earlier agreement Professor Johann Schnitzler had been bound not to found a new medical periodical himself within two years after leaving the *Wiener Medizinische Presse.* Although this agreement had expired in 1885, he hesitated to sign

[9] A brief account of this is given by Otto Erich Deutsch, "Aus Artur Schnitzlers Vorzeit," *Neues Wiener Journal,* May 29, 1927.

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as the responsible editor[10] and therefore Dr. Bèla Weiss who had been Professor Schnitzler's assistant for more than ten years, and Dr. Arthur Schnitzler appeared as the nominal editors. When Dr. Weiss was taken ill at the end of the year, Dr. Arthur Schnitzler became the responsible editor and continued in this capacity until the end of 1888. Beginning with volume III his father again assumed the editorship-in-chief, although at the end of every number Arthur Schnitzler was listed as the responsible editor until September 9, 1894. It seems plausible that the son, now that he figured as one of the editors, could exercise greater choice in the selection of books to be reviewed by himself. As a matter of fact, we now find book reviews on diseases of the nervous system, neurasthenia and hysteria, psychotherapy and hypnotism predominating, studies that had a marked influence on his later writings. In the very first number, on January 2, 1887, a review by him appeared of *Neue Vorlesungen über die Krankheiten des Nervensystems, insbesondere über Hysterie.* Von J. M. Charcot. Autorisierte deutsche Ausgabe von Dr. Sigm. Freud, and on November 13, 1892, a review of another book translated by Freud entitled *Poliklinische Vorträge.* Von Prof. J. M. Charcot. In both of these Schnitzler extols the masterful translation.

In 1888 Schnitzler spent several months in London making a study of the facilities for medical education and especially of hospital conditions in that city. His impressions are recorded in a series of three "Londoner Briefe," published in the month of July. It is both amusing and instructive to read his remarks about the lavish display of Bible verses:

> In den meisten Sälen, auch in den für den Empfang der ambulatorischen Kranken bestimmten Räumen, finden sich an den Wänden und Türen Bibelsprüche, die auf die Stimmung der Patienten einen mehr oder minder ermunternden Eindruck zu üben imstande sind. Es läßt sich sicherlich nichts dagegen einwenden, wenn der Kranke zu lesen bekommt: "Tut einander Gutes," und auch dem Spruche: "Wen der Herr liebt, den züchtigt er," kann eine gewisse Wirkung auf Gemüter, die

[10] In Vol. III, No. 1 (January 6, 1889), col. 33–35, Professor Schnitzler gives the detailed circumstances that led to his resignation and the founding of the *Internationale Klinische Rundschau.*

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für diese Art von Schmeichelei empfänglich sind, nicht abgesprochen werden; wenn es einem Kranken jedoch mit gewaltigen Buchstaben entgegendräut: "Wer gesündigt hat, der muß sterben," so wird er daraus bei genauer Berücksichtigung seiner bisherigen Lebensführung wohl nur selten einen wahren und bleibenden Trost schöpfen können." [11]

Despite the facetious tone there is evident here the same concern for the welfare of the patients, especially where it is a matter of ensuring them a happy and peaceful death, that is characteristic of many of the noblest physicians in the poet's works. It is with this object in view that Professor Bernhardi refuses the priest admittance to his patient's room, because the mere apparition of a priest would shock her out of her blissful state of euphoria. And Kurt Pflugfelder, frankly telling the priest that often the doctors can do no more for their patients than lie to them, continues: "Übrigens ist gerade das manchmal der schwerste und edelste Teil unseres Berufes." [12]

Deeply pessimistic reflections are contained in an article called "Sylvesterbetrachtungen," dated December 31, 1888, and published in the first number of the new year. The dominant tone can be gathered from the first paragraph:

Dieser schöne Aberglaube der Sylvesternacht! Wenn das alte Jahr uns davontollt, so wie es uns hereingebraust kam, stolz und heiter, dann ist es uns doch immer, als müßten wir hoffen, als müßte es nun besser werden. Wie oft schon wurden wir getäuscht! Wie oft schon belehrt, daß die Menschen immer dieselben bleiben und daß die Sonne des Neujahrsmorgens über derselben fragwürdigen Gesamtheit aufgeht, die der Mond des Sylvesterabends beschienen. Das alte Schauspiel nimmt seinen Fortgang. Heute wieder das Hasten von gestern, in diesem Jahre wieder die Kämpfe des alten, für immer wieder das bißchen Edelsinn und die Masse Erbärmlichkeit, die das Wesen des Menschentums auszumachen scheint. Wahrhaftig, sie ist allzu banal, diese Hoffnungsandacht, die uns aus dem Sylvesterpunsch emporsteigt und unser Haupt mit dem gelinden Dunst der Freude umgibt. Auch dieses Jahr bringt uns nimmer, was die Guten aller Zeiten ersehnt, den wahren Frieden und die echte Menschlichkeit.

[11] *Internationale Klinische Rundschau*, Vol. II, No. 31 (July 29, 1888).
[12] *Ges. W., Theaterstücke*, Ergänzungsband V, 31.

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The author then continues to lament the fact that even scientifically trained men, especially doctors, whose very science is an anthropocentric one, are no exception to the rule, but are subject to the same narrow-minded prejudices as the mob: "Ja, wenn die Wissenschaft stets die Kraft hätte, zu bilden, zu veredeln! Was vermag sie aber mit all ihrem Adel gegen die angeborenen Triebe des Neides, der Scheelsucht, des Hasses, die ja, so lange die Welt steht, immer nach einem neuen Ausdruck suchen, um sich geltend machen und wirken zu können!" Although the author speaks for the most part only in general terms, we nevertheless learn what inspired these outbursts, namely racial and religious intolerance: "Wir wissen, daß wir noch lange nicht das Ende einer Zeit erleben werden, in der eine ganze Klasse von Menschen zuerst nach der Konfession und erst dann, oder auch gar nicht, nach dem inneren Wert ihres Nächsten fragen wird." In conclusion the author makes it clear that he is not belittling the professional skill of the medical fraternity, but only touching upon the ethical side of their profession: "Wir zweifeln keinen Augenblick, daß man auch im nächsten Jahre neue Bazillen und neue Medikamente entdecken wird. Man wird in den Laboratorien und auf den Kliniken rüstig weiterarbeiten; man wird den Geheimnissen des Lebens und des Todes immer näher kommen. Wir werden auch im nächsten Jahre viele große Ärzte unter uns haben—aber wir fürchten, nur wenig große Menschen."

Schnitzler's only research article, presenting the results of scientific observation, was published in the *Internationale Klinische Rundschau* in four instalments from March 10 to April 7, 1889. He was now an assistant of his father in the *Allgemeine Poliklinik*, specialising in his father's subject, laryngology, although it cannot be said that he pursued this with great enthusiasm. The article contains approximately nine thousand words and is entitled "Über funktionelle Aphonie und deren Behandlung durch Hypnose und Suggestion." In his introductory remarks the author reveals the method he applied to induce the hypnotic state:

Die Methode, die ich zur Einleitung der Hypnose anwandte, war in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl die, daß ich die Kranken

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mir ruhig in die Augen blicken ließ, oder meine Hand streichend über Stirn, Schläfen und Augenlider bewegte. Die bekannte Tatsache, daß die Einleitung des hypnotischen Schlafes an derselben Person umso leichter fällt, je öfter sie angewandt ist, scheint kaum einer besonderen Erwähnung wert, und bei allen den Medien—man entschuldige diesen jetzt wesenlosen Ausdruck durch seine Kürze und Gültigkeit—die ich häufig hypnotisierte, genügte meist ein zehn bis dreißig Sekunden langes Bestreichen der Augenlider, oder ein ruhiges, durchaus nicht immer im "imperativen Tone" gesprochenes Zureden, um die Hypnose herbeizuführen. Es ist also die Methode der Bernheimschen Schule, welche ich in Anwendung ziehe.

After reviewing the literature on the subject, he gives six actual case histories with all the essential details. In all cases his treatment was more or less successful, in most of them even strikingly so. Four patients had their voice restored after the first hypnotic suggestion, while the other two required a second effort. The author is very careful about drawing positive conclusions, however. The duration of the cure, he admits, is still a very uncertain matter, dependent on a variety of factors. Nevertheless, he would be loath to give up this apparently successful method, especially as it seems to afford an opportunity of favorably influencing at the same time certain general neurotic conditions. Schnitzler's experiments in this field were not confined to functional aphonia, for he holds out the promise that on a later occasion he will report about successful cures he was fortunate enough to effect in other neuroses. That these experiments with hypnotism later found reflection in the first *Anatol* scene and in *Paracelsus* scarcely needs pointing out.

Among the remaining book reviews there are three that may be of more general interest. Thus on January 11, 1891, Schnitzler discussed briefly *Neue Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Psychopathia Sexualis* by Dr. R. v. Krafft-Ebing (Stuttgart, 1890), the second part of which treats of homosexuality. The case histories which are often autobiographical he finds particularly fascinating. His concluding remarks are: "Das ethisch Bedeutungsvolle dieser Untersuchungen liegt offenbar darin, daß sie auf die falsche Stellung hinweisen, welche das Gesetz noch immer gegenüber diesen in ihrem sexuellen Empfinden kranken Individuen einnimmt."

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On January 4, 1891, there was a long article on *Der geniale Mensch* by Cesare Lombroso (Übersetzt von Dr. M. O. Fraenkel, Hamburg, 1890), which he calls a marvelous book that one must read from beginning to end. He is not, however, swept off his feet to such an extent that he believes this to be the final word on the subject. Since he himself has sometimes been charged with a lack of patriotism, it may be worth while also to hear what he has to say on this subject, especially as his remarks also throw some light on how he regards Heine's supposed deficiency in this respect:

Auch die Stellen über mangelndes Vaterlandsgefühl bei einzelnen Genies sind nur interessant, ohne im geringsten im Sinne des Verfassers beigezogen werden zu dürfen. Vaterlandsliebe als etwas Angeborenes, ihren Mangel als eine Art Neurose oder Geistesstörung herausstellen, geht doch nicht an; sie ist wohl im besten Fall die edelste unter unseren Gewohnheiten. Heine gehört keinesfalls hieher. Man lese doch einmal seine Werke; dieser Mann sollte Deutschland g e h a ß t (so lautet das Wort bei Lombroso) haben? Er hat sich unter bitteren Schmerzen von seiner Liebe zu demselben heilen wollen: das ist die Wahrheit.

By far the most interesting of all these reviews is that of *Die sexuelle Hygiene und ihre ethischen Konsequenzen. Drei Vorlesungen* von Dr. med. Seved Ribbing. (Deutsch von Dr. med. Oskar Reyher. Leipzig, 1890) which appeared on November 23, 1890. It is of the greatest importance for an understanding of Schnitzler's views—views which he would uphold today—not only of erotic literature in general, but especially of the modern writers who were then agitating the civilized world. Incidentally it is also an *apologia pro vita sua.* As this review appeared in a medical journal, difficult of access, students of Schnitzler may be grateful if we quote freely from it. After scoring the author for his condemnation of writers like Zola, Strindberg, Garborg, Maupassant and Ola Hannson from the "sexual hygienic standpoint," he says:

Man mißverstehe uns nicht: es mag selbst zugegeben werden, daß in den Werken der eben genannten Autoren manche für die Schönheit des Werkes entbehrliche Stellen vorkommen, die auf sexuellen oder sexuell anregenden Schilderungen verweilen.

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—Wir bedauern, daß wohl dem größten Teil unserer Leser Strindberg und Garborg bis auf die Namen fremd sein dürften; sie müßten sonst mit uns staunen, wenn sie bei Dr. Ribbing zu lesen bekämen: "So schädlich auch die Einwirkung der vorgenannten war (Boccaccio, Casanova, Faublas, Paul de Kock) halte ich die Letzteren (Zola, Strindberg, Krohg, Garborg) doch für noch gefährlicher, nicht so sehr an und für sich, als vielmehr deshalb, weil ihre Anhänger sich eines großen Teils der literarischen Kritik in der periodischen Presse bemächtigt haben und nun derartige Machwerke und die darin enthaltene Weltanschauung als etwas Vortreffliches und Nachahmungswertes ausposaunen. . . .

Nun darf ja Dr. Ribbing zweifellos sagen: "Diese Bücher gefallen mir nicht"—aber, um es ruhig in der zweiten Vorlesung über sexuelle Hygiene und ihre ethischen Konsequenzen auszusprechen, Zola, Strindberg etc. produzieren Machwerke, dazu gehört eine Kühnheit, welche uns in dem künstlerischen Verständnis des Verfassers keine genügende Begründung zu finden scheint. Im Übrigen vergleiche man doch einmal die verschiedenen Autoren, die Ribbing in Beziehungen bringt—man lese Boccaccio, Casanova, Faublas, Paul de Kock—und dann Zola, Strindberg, Krohg, Garborg—und man wird sehen, wie verschieden sich bei diesen beiden Schriftstellergruppen der Geschlechtsgedanke (wenn uns der Ausdruck verstattet ist) gestaltet. Während bei den Erstgenannten eine naive Lüsternheit in künstlerischer Form auftritt und ein süßer Leichtsinn frivol und abenteuerlich waltet, treten uns die anderen mit einem düsteren Ernst entgegen, der selbst das Verlockende in ihren Schriften mit einem schweren Schatten überdeckt. Man vergleiche doch einmal die Liebeständeleien, von denen uns Boccaccio, Paul de Kock und Faublas erzählen, mit den Verhältnissen zwischen Mann und Weib, wie sie uns in Zolas *Assommoir*, Strindbergs *Verheirateten*, Arne Garborgs *Aus der Männerwelt* dargestellt werden. Man lese doch einmal diese Werke und suche sich über die Weltanschauung klar zu werden, die darin entwickelt wird. Für die albernen Jungen, welche den großartigen Pessimismus dieser Werke übersehen und sich durch die in denselben enthaltenen erotischen Szenen "zur Sünde verlocken" lassen—für diese haben freilich Zola und Strindberg nicht geschrieben. Aber hätten sie um dieser "Leser" willen—die wohl noch andere bequemere Arten der Verlockung finden mochten—das künstlerische Ganze ihrer Produktion verzerren sollen?—Wie wenig sich Herr Ribbing übrigens über die Grenzen einer erlaubten Kritik Rechenschaft gegeben hat—ganz abgesehen von der Richtigkeit oder Unrichtigkeit seines

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persönlichen Standpunktes—zeigt die Bemerkung betreffend Ola Hannson, einen hochbegabten jungen Schriftsteller, über dessen Helden er nach Zitierung einzelner Stellen aus den *Sensitiva Amorosa*—Folgendes sagt: "Ich stelle es den Eltern und anderen Pflegern der Jugend anheim, ob ein solches Individuum noch das Recht hat, sich unter der anderen Gesellschaft frei zu bewegen, oder ob es nicht, sich selbst und der Allgemeinheit zum Frommen, in eine Pflege- und Besserungsanstalt interniert werden sollte."

Ich kann hier nicht alle Stellen Ola Hannsons anführen, auf welche sich Dr. Ribbing bezieht—ich bringe nur die letzte, welche lautet: "Ich habe vielerlei—meist billig zu erkaufenden Umgang mit dem anderen Geschlechte gehabt, in ein paar Fällen auch aus reiner Neigung; alle Mal aber waren das Ziel und der Schluß dasselbe: wenn ich erreicht, was ich wollte, war die Geschichte aus—ein Gelüste, ein brutaler Akt, Erschlaffung, gewöhnlich eine Empfindung von Ekel, im besten Falle eine leise, schwermütige Erinnerung—voilà tout."

Es werden vielleicht manche ein Gefühl des innigsten Bedauerns für—den Helden, den Ola Hannson sprechen läßt, empfinden, aber mit dem Wunsch, diesen Helden in eine Pflege- und Besserungsanstalt zu internieren, wird Herr Dr. Ribbing wohl vereinzelt dastehen.

. . . . . .

Über den moralischen Inhalt der Frage müßte man freilich Bände schreiben—nun ist dies freilich schon geschehn—und es hat sich stets als nutzlos erwiesen. Über den Widerspruch in den Gesetzen, welche einerseits die Natur und andererseits die Gesellschaft fordert, können wir niemals endgültig schlüssig werden. Individuell empfinden heißt ja—diesen Widerspruch nach seiner Weise zu versöhnen suchen.

Björnson hat vor nicht langer Zeit die Forderung, daß der Mann seiner künftigen Gattin ebenso rein entgegentreten müsse, als sie ihm, dramatisch formuliert und das betreffende Stück *Der Handschuh* hat einen lebhaften Widerstreit der Meinungen hervorgerufen. Daß die Männer die in dem Drama ausgesprochene Forderung als übertrieben und fast unmöglich belächeln, mag in einer durch jahrhundertelange Gewohnheit begründeten Anmaßung liegen; und aus diesem Verhalten darf man kaum einen berechtigten Schluß ziehen. Daß aber auch die Frauen im Allgemeinen eine leichte Heiterkeit über die Forderung des stolzen Mädchens in dem Björnsonschen Drama nicht unterdrücken können—das muß uns nachdenklich machen. Denn die wissen sicher, warum sie lächeln.

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After the death of Professor Schnitzler in May, 1893, the entire burden of responsibility in editing the journal again fell on the shoulders of his son. A large staff of contributing editors, however, was enlisted to assist in furthering the purposes of the publication. Beginning with the number of January 7, 1894, Arthur Schnitzler's name again appears on the title page as editor, continuing until September 9, when he definitely withdrew.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the poet also collaborated with his father and his brother-in-law, Dr. M. Hajek, on a *Klinischer Atlas der Laryngologie und Rhinologie, nebst Anleitung zur Diagnose und Therapie der Krankheiten des Kehlkopfes und der Luftröhre*, Wien und Leipzig, 1891–1895 (W. Braumüller).

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BOOK REVIEWS

H. Hamann, *Die Überseele. Grundzüge einer Morphologie der deutschen Literaturgeschichte.* Leipzig: J. J. Weber, o.J. 151 pp., M. 3.75.

Dies Buch fordert oft zum Widerspruch, immer aber zur Stellungnahme heraus. Sein Wert liegt in der Anregung, die es gibt. Es ist ein erstes, nicht ein letztes Wort.

Die „Überseele" ist die Seele, der „Genius" der Volksgemeinschaft. Eine solche Bezeichnung für „Kollektivseele" ist sprachlich möglich, aber doch nicht glücklich, da die naheliegende Parallele „Übermensch" den Leser auf eine falsche Fährte lockt. Diese Überseele ist die eigentliche Schöpferin literarischer Kunstwerke. Die Literatur macht darum mit ihr eine organische Entwicklung von der Jugend durch die Reife zum Mannesalter durch. Die althochdeutsche Dichtung wird als Vorzeit geringschätzig abgetan. Die mittelhochdeutsche Literatur ist die Jugend. Das 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert ist die Zeit der Reife, wobei „Reife" (wieder nicht ganz glücklich) für den Vorgang der Reifung, nicht für das Ergebnis steht. Das Jahrhundert Goethes bringt dann das Mannesalter. Und uns in der Gegenwart bleibt der entsagende Ausblick auf ein Greisenalter, wenn auch dessen schöne Friedlichkeit mit warmen Worten ausgemalt wird.

Das Ganze ist eine gewiß beachtenswerte Anwendung Spenglerscher Gedanken auf die Literaturgeschichte. Der Rezensent hält jedoch die Betrachtungsweise Strichs, über die Hamann hinauszukommen versucht, für überzeugender; Strichs Deutung bedarf nach anderer Richtung hin des Ausbaus. Die Charakterisierung der mittelalterlichen Dichtung muß trotz der Schönheit der Darstellung als teilweise verfehlt betrachtet werden. Die Belege für die Jugendlichkeit dieser Dichtung sind fast ausschließlich aus der „Volksepik," größtenteils aus dem Nibelungenlied genommen—gewiß ein schwerer methodischer Mangel. Dagegen wird über das „Mannesalter" viel Wahres und Schönes gesagt, das den Leser mit dem Buche versöhnt. Hier gelingen dem Verfasser viele sehr glückliche Formulierungen. Den stärksten Eigenwert hat die Würdigung der Literatur des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, eine Ehrenrettung jener oft gering geschätzten Epoche, eine positive Kennzeichnung, die einen weiteren Schritt vorwärts auf dem Wege zu einer gerechten Einschätzung aller Perioden bedeutet.

Das Buch ist in gutem Stil, mit reifer Überschau und auf Grund selbständiger Durcharbeitung der Literatur aller Zeiten geschrieben. Ungewöhnliche Wertungen werfen an vielen Stellen blendende Schlaglichter. Es ist erfreulich zu sehen, wie man auch in dieser Beziehung Gehalt und Gestalt in Einklang zu bringen sucht.

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Robert d'Harcourt, *La jeunesse de Schiller.* Paris: Librairie Plon, 1928. 487 pp. 25 fr.

Robert d'Harcourt knows full well the conventional attitude of the cultivated French public toward Friedrich Schiller, an author known, whose works are not opened but sovereignly judged. He sums up compactly in his preface the impression which such remote contacts with Schiller's more mature work have made on the

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French mind: "Une étincelante rhétorique, point de poésie; du métier, pas d'âme; aucune émotion personnelle, subjective, jaillie du coeur et capable de l'atteindre; nul don d'intimité, de mystère, de prolongement chez le lecteur; le vide brillant, encore aggravé par le pédantisme moralisateur; d'habiles bouquets de froides allégories; chaque œuvre couronnée sagement par une 'moralité.' Un lyrisme de prédicant. Le *conciones* sur les planches" (pp. i–ii). But there is, d'Harcourt insists, another Schiller, "le Schiller de la jeunesse. C'est ce Schiller-là, le Schiller d'avant Jena et Weimar, que nous voudrions aujourd'hui présenter au lecteur français" (p. iii).

La jeunesse de Schiller, from Schiller's birth, November 10, 1759, to his departure for Weimar on July 20, 1787, thus becomes the subject of d'Harcourt's study, which is divided into five books, each again subdivided into two, three, or four chapters. The dramas of Schiller's youth, *Les brigands*, *La conjuration de Fiesque*, *Cabale et amour*, *Don Carlos*, and Schiller's early poems are analyzed with penetrating understanding. In addition, the different stages of Schiller's early life; the various physical, mental, emotional and moral disturbances of Schiller's early career, are in turn treated with deep psychological insight. The Gallic quickness of perception, which discriminating observers saw revealed in d'Harcourt's first critical contribution, C. F. Meyer, *Sa vie, son œuvre* (Paris: Alcan, 1913), together with the cool objectivity, the superior point of view, the ability of identification with his subject, the sense of concrete fact, the selection of salient detail, the gift of phrase resulting in a precise, clear, graceful but graphic style, so clearly marked in a later, non-critical work, *Souvenirs de captivité et d'évasions* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1924), mark also the present performance. It is indeed from the manner of presenting his material rather than from the material itself that the American reader can learn most. Indeed, after Minor and Weltrich, after the "précieux répertoire," *Schillers Persönlichkeit*, from which d'Harcourt has "puisé à pleines mains" (p. 486), and all the other sources for Schiller's youth, which, his "Bibliographie" (pp. 485–7) mentions, a Schiller scholar will scarcely expect to find much new material here; but on every page he will be delighted to find that d'Harcourt has not only mastered all the accessible sources sufficiently well to go his own way, but proceeds in a charming manner, at once intelligent and imaginative, that disarms criticism, avoids prejudice and recommends itself to Americans especially at the present time, when the place which Schiller's dramas and poems should occupy in our educational programme is becoming more and more a matter of debate. Compared with other, better-known biographers of Schiller, d'Harcourt seems in the manner and method of formulating his findings and presenting his material less moralizing and pedantic than Karl Berger, less enthusiastic and popular than Ludwig Bellermann, less subjective and emotional than Eugen Kühnemann, less academic and matter-of-fact than Calvin Thomas.

In his preface d'Harcourt promises that the reader will find represented in his book "une jeunesse de poète, avec tout ce que ce mot fait se lever en nous de svelte et d'ardent, de gauche et de charmant: le capital de rêve, l'insoumission au réel, les épaules trop minces pour la vie, le refuge dans la richesse intérieure, la protestation de l'esprit contre la matière." In this youthful poet, whose short and tragic life becomes a harsh struggle against sickness and want, he hopes the reader will love, no less than he himself has loved, "l'idéalisme impénitent, l'aptitude aux illusions, l'indéstructible capacité de chimères en face du démenti obstiné des faits, la sincérité de recul devant la laideur entrevue de l'existence, et jusqu'au geste tumultueux de défi au monde et à sa loi, jusqu'à certaine exaltation hirsute qui ne nous a jamais fait

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sourire qu'en nous attendrissant en même temps." Aiming always at critical, objective clarity in his attempt at representing the contagious warmth of Schiller's emotions, he fears that the sharp details of some of his pictures may appear cruel. May the almost touching admission of his love for the personage of the picture, the young poet Schiller, expressed in the last lines of his preface, serve to soften such harsh impressions. "Certains de nos tableaux pourront, dans l'acuité de leur détail, paraître cruels. Qu'il soit pourtant permis à l'auteur de ces lignes d'avouer très simplement qu'il a beaucoup aimé son personnage," for as Goethe wrote to Fritz Jacobi, he goes on to say, "On ne connaît vraiment que ce qu'on aime."

The promises which the author makes in his preface seem to the present reviewer abundantly fulfilled in the work. The reader who would rapidly familiarize himself with the urbane French superiority of d'Harcourt's manner need only follow his treatment of this "chapter of love," in which this "typical," "clinical" case of "Germanism," Schiller, manifests most clearly the most "general" trait of his genius "the incompatibility with the real." D'Harcourt's description of young Schiller's treatment of woman in his early works may serve as a concrete illustration of the qualities of this book, which have been before this summed up only in more general terms. During the days at the academy, before women entered his life, there is already marked in Schiller "la totale et naturelle subordination du monde de la matière et de ses exigences au monde de l'esprit" (p. 59). Regularly in his early life, "avec d'humbles matériaux, il arrive à mettre sur pied la statue dont il a besoin; son souffle de créateur l'anime" (p. 226). Soon "le lyrisme cosmique et sidéral de l'*Anthologie* nous apportera une nouvelle preuve de cette incapacité essentielle de rester sur terre" (pp. 49–50). For the *Anthologie* shows us "Dorothée Vischer, la pauvre 'Vischerin,' la logeuse du taudis de Stuttgart, transfigurée en Laura et devenue le centre d'une délirante astronomie érotique" (p. 479). D'Harcourt cannot refrain from adding, nor the reviewer from citing in this connection, the following neat formulation of a still unsettled question about "die Vischerin": "Le sentiment excéda-t-il chez Schiller les limites de la flamme platonique pour entrer dans le domaine des réalisations, c'est un point de critique historique sur lequel s'est avidement exercée, avec une légère fièvre de scandale, l'érudition des professeurs à lunettes et qui n'est point encore définitivement élucidé" (p. 87). The only woman character of *Les brigands*, d'Harcourt heartlessly describes, "Amélie d'Edelreich . . . est un mélange extraordinaire de fougue sensuelle extrêmement précoce, de sentimentalisme à la Klopstock et de pétulance de geste de maritorne. Elle cumule les sourires brisés, les larmes poétiques, et l'aptitude à décocher des gifles" (p. 116). All the heroines of Schiller's early plays have what seems to d'Harcourt one singularly unwomanly characteristic. Whether it is Julia with Fiesque, Lady Milford with Ferdinand, la princesse Eboli with Don Carlos, "c'est à elles que l'initiative appartient en amour." . . . "Toutes ont le geste qui saisit le manteau. Encore que biblique, ce geste reste assez exceptionnel au théâtre" (p. 257).

In the second drama, *Fiesque*, "la scène qui met aux prises les deux femmes, la gardienne d'amour et la voleuse d'amour, est déplorable et irrésistiblement comique pour un lecteur latin" (p. 239). "La scène de la dispute entre les deux femmes (II, 2) avec les tasses de chocolat, rappelle un 'Kränzchen' d'après-midi de Stuttgart" (pp. 258–9). When Fiesque says to Julia "Unsere Sinne sind nur die Grundsuppe unserer innern Republik," d'Harcourt comments "Ce marivaudage galant est terriblement laborieux et cette 'Grundsuppe' péniblement culinaire!" (p. 243, footnote 1).

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In *Cabale et amour*, the battle of words between Lady Milford and la petite Louise (IV, 2) becomes: "Duel où ne vont point manquer les attitudes pathétiques et les nobles ripostes (la petite Louise y révèle brusquement une aptitude oratoire assez inattendue et qui jure avec la ligne de simplicité désarmée de son caractère), duel cornélien par la dialectique à la fois pressante et drapée du dialogue et schillérien par son arrière-plan de romantisme social" (p. 304). All this in the mouth of "la petite Louise," more at home when at work on "un beau portefeuille brodé qu'elle a commencé pour celui qu'elle aime (comme toutes les filles de Germanie, elle s'adonne à la tapisserie amoureuse)" (p. 309). As for the mother, d'Harcourt finds her "franchement amusante, en édition souabe et avant la lettre de Mme. Cardinal" (p. 318).

Finally when in *Don Carlos* "nous quittons le terrain politique pour le terrain sentimental" to find Don Carlos confronted by Eboli, we have a scene which is "d'un comique—involontaire—mais achevé . . . et trahit de la part de l'auteur la plus candide inexpérience et de la scène et de la femme" (p. 420). While d'Harcourt cannot refrain from a four-page analysis of this scene, in which "certains . . . tableaux pourront, dans l'acuité de leur détail, paraître cruel" (p. iv), his sense of fairness and sympathetic understanding for "la flamme tendre, la grâce héroique de Don Carlos" (p. iii) makes him find this drama, "*Don Carlos*—de toutes les œuvres de Schiller celle sans doute à laquelle il a confié le plus de lui-même" (p. 220, cf. also 449) in contrast to *Fiesque*, which is "des quatre drames de la jeunesse de Schiller, celui dans lequel il a le moins mis de lui-même" (p. 252), or compared with *Cabale et amour*, succinctly summed up as "le drame du pessimisme social intégral présenté dans une fable de mélodrame" (p. 311).

His summary of *Don Carlos* may stand as a sample of his sovereign benevolence. "Mais, avec ses maladresses, ses gaucheries, ses naïvetés psychologiques dans le tracé des caractères de femmes, son apothéose de l'amitié, son romantisme politique, son appel au cœur comme seule puissance génératrice dans l'ordre social, son émotivité diffuse, son absence de *dessin*, c'est surtout l'une des oeuvres les plus (459) typiquement représentatives du génie germanique, l'une de celles où s'incarne notamment le plus nettement la sensibilité spécifique, le 'Gemüt' de l'adolescent allemand, si profondément distinct du nôtre" (p. 458–9).

This appreciation of German qualities from the French point of view, this appraisal of Schiller's Sturm und Drang dramas as well as Sturm und Drang medical doses, "ces traitements de vétérinaire," proudly called "Kraftstücke liefern" (p. 76) rom a perhaps superior, but none the less tolerant, point of view, makes up the charm of this amusing book for American students of Schiller.

In the speech of Schiller, d'Harcourt records the Swabian dialect " 'Schaue Se,' disait-il à une de ses amies, Caroline Ziegler, avec son parler souabe, 'wenn die Gedanke ausgehe, da mal' ich Rößle" (p. 274, note 1; cf. also 335); in Schiller's letters to his friends "écrites dans le pur style des 'Kraftgenies,' émaillées de truculents jurons," he is amused to find that "les 'Tausendsakerment' alternent avec les 'Tausendsakerlott.' Les appellations les plus corsées, telles que 'Hundsfott,' sont distribuées comme petits noms d'amitié" (p. 79; cf. also p. 83, note 1); in Schiller's petition to "Sa Très Haute Seigneurie" asking indulgence from "Serenissimus, Charles Eugène," d'Harcourt cites the conclusion and signature: "Et il signe dans une de ces formules de civilité protocolaire où excelle l'Allemand et dont chaque ligne, d'un retrait savant sur la précédente, est une révérence à reculons: Der ich in allerdevotester Submission ersterbe, Ewr. Herzogl. Durchlaucht Untertänigsttreugehorsamster Fried. Schiller Regiments medicus" (p. 179).

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Schiller's desire to emulate the graceful style of French eighteenth century prose, which he confesses in a letter of April 22, 1787, to Körner, but which he finds almost impossible in German, d'Harcourt feels to be an "Amusant soupir d'ours germanique qui voudrait danser le menuet!" (p. 407).

American criticisms of Schiller seem similarly lacking in grace when they contrast Goethe and Schiller, compared to this polished single sentence summarizing the two, of which d'Harcourt apparently thinks so lightly that he can afford to hide it in the fine print of a footnote: "La différence, peut-être principale, entre le génie de Goethe et celui de Schiller, est que le premier s'arrête à l'image de la vie pour l'épuiser, tandis que le second la traverse pour en développer les intentions" (p. 453).

But though we may seem like German bears in our clumsy manipulation of language, we are compelled—possibly by way of compensation for our lack of French finesse in matters of form—to greater care in proof-reading than seems customary in France. The German of the present volume is, it must be said, less marred by misprints than is the case in most French works. Among the more obvious slips are the following: Gebùrt, p. 4; Streiche, p. 37; Suttgart, p. 38 and also in the "Table des Matières"; Menscheit, p. 119; Neùe, p. 158; Wilkommen, p. 159; Emmanuel, p. 180; Gülcklichen, p. 252; Aufgelcgt, p. 256, etc. The footnote on page 43 should be revised to read: "Durch alle Werke Schillers."

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Güntter, Otto, *Friedrich Schiller. Sein Leben und seine Dichtungen.* Leipzig, o. J.

Under this title there appeared not a new Schiller biography, but a collection of seven hundred and one illustrations: pictures of Schiller, one of them published here for the first time; of persons with whom he came in contact; of the various localities that stand out in his brief life, and illustrations to his works, among them the title pages of various editions. The compiler was not primarily concerned with the esthetic value of these illustrations, but endeavored above all to present a fairly complete graphic record of the life of Schiller. The collection enables one to visualize the man, the circle in which he moved, and the surroundings in which he lived. We are made keenly aware, as we examine those pictures, of the tremendous material changes that have taken place since the days of Goethe and Schiller, and are helped in our efforts to reconstruct in our minds the great age in German literature. The very atmosphere of the times becomes more real to us as we examine the pages of this book, and we are made to comprehend more clearly than before how little spiritual greatness depends on the external circumstances of a man's life.

Many of the pictures have, of course, been published before, but scattered in various books and not easily accessible. There is a great number of views of landscapes, of towns and houses where Schiller lived for a time, some of them not to be found in any other publication. This holds also true of the large number of likenesses of persons that played a rôle in Schiller's life. The silhouettes included in the collection, to be sure, give one only an imperfect idea of the individuals whom they represent, especially to a person not well versed in the interpretation of such likenesses, which then took the place of our photographs. Several fascsimiles of Schiller's handwriting (the most extensive is the first outline of *Don Karlos*) have been properly included in the work.

The second part of the collection consists of reproductions of illustrations

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to Schiller's works, all from the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century. There were fewer interests than now in those days, less to occupy man's mind, the horizon of even a cultured person was narrow, but making all due allowance for these facts, it is astonishing to note how strong an appeal the writings of Schiller had for his contemporaries, how artist upon artist endeavored to give visual shape by means of crayon, pen or brush to the many characters created by the poet, or to embody the ideas that found expression in his works. The poems received proportionally the largest share of attention. We find, for instance, eight sketches illustrating situations from the simple, rather sentimental poem "Toggenburg," double this number based on "Der Kampf mit dem Drachen," and twenty-one drawings in the true classical style inspired by "Das Eleusische Fest." Among the artists and craftsmen represented, Chodowiecki and Ramberg stand out both in number and merit of their productions pertaining to the works of Schiller. The various illustrations give us, incidentally, a good conception of the pictorial art in those days. Those based upon characters and situations from Schiller's dramas are reliable evidence of stage settings, costumes, even of the acting on the stage of Goethe and Schiller. There must have existed a strong reciprocal influence between the stage and the illustrative arts, very likely stronger on the part of the latter, because the medium of expression gave greater possibilities and more freedom to the painter and illustrator than to the stage. In the majority of the pictures, a certain realism is quite apparent, whereby their value as records of the times is greatly increased. In the first part of the work, silhouettes are, naturally, fairly numerous, but in at least one instance this art was employed to illustrate a poem of Schiller: "Das Mädchen aus der Fremde."

Güntter, as the director of the Schiller-Nationalmuseum in Marbach, was in an advantageous position for the accomplishment of his task. But more important than the large amount of material at his immediate disposal was his intimate knowledge of the field. The collection represents a labor of love and devotion. Güntter's admiration for Schiller is very evident in the brief biographical introduction. In a book of ordinary size, i.e., in octavo, it would comprise about a hundred pages, and yet it gives a comprehensive portrayal of Schiller's life. Of course, the sketch contains nothing that is new. Only the more important biographical facts are presented; estimates of Schiller's works, where found at all, are usually in the form of utterances from Schiller's famous contemporaries. The absence of all literary, esthetic, and philosophical discussions makes the picture very clear, and the idealistic spirit of the age stands out vividly, just because not a word is said about the matter. One observation made by the author entirely incidentally deserves notice. In speaking of the severe discipline of the "Karlsschule," he points out that Schiller would hardly have fared any better, if he, in accordance with his cherished wishes, had been permitted to attend one of the schools preparing for the study of theology, while he would have missed the many advantages resulting from the close associations existing between the "Karlsschule" and the ducal court. Personal freedom and the responsibility resulting necessarily from it had no place in the educational schemes of the eighteenth century.

The material of both parts of the work is arranged chronologically, making an index superfluous. Instead we find in the back of the book very valuable, and in many instances quite extensive explanatory data, mostly of biographical nature in regard to individuals associated with Schiller in some manner or other, of course, arranged in alphabetical order. The student and lover of Schiller will find in the

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collection of Güntter a wealth of illustrative material, systematically presented, which is not only very interesting but instructive as well, and ready information about persons connected with the life of the poet, data often not included in biographies.

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Jahrbuch der Kleist-Gesellschaft 1927 und 1928. Herausgegeben von Georg Minde-Pouet und Julius Petersen. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928. 173 pp.

The above publication, which appears as Volumes IX and X of the *Schriften der Kleist-Gesellschaft*, contains an address, delivered by Wilhelm von Scholz at the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Kleist's birth, and a number of critical investigations. Jakob Baxa, who, as the author of *Adam Müller, Ausgewählte Abhandlungen* (Jena, 1921), is well qualified to write on the subject, contributes an article entitled "Adam Müller in Dresden 1807–1809. Sein literarisches und persönliches Verhältnis zu Kleist." Most emphatically Baxa takes issue with those Kleist biographers who, influenced by Adolph Wilbrandt's fanciful conception, regarded Müller as Kleist's evil genius. This article sets forth conclusively that Müller was not only one of the exceedingly few contemporaries of Kleist who had an adequate appreciation of his greatness as a dramatist, but it points out also that he was the herald of Kleist's early fame. Adam Müller had already come into prominence when Kleist was as yet unknown in Germany. He used his influence to win recognition for the author of *Amphitryon* and *Der zerbrochene Krug*, enlisted Goethe's interest in the production of the latter at Weimar, presented Kleist to prominent residents of Dresden, and made various other efforts to interest a wider public in the works of his friend. He defended the *Marquise von O . . .* against narrow criticism of an alleged moral slant, seems to have been instrumental in obtaining a contribution for the *Phöbus* from Madame de Staël, and frankly acknowledged his friend's genius as superior to his own. His efforts in Kleist's behalf are not to be belittled or disparaged merely because they were unproductive of the desired success.

The second part of Baxa's article portrays the personal relationships between Adam Müller and Heinrich von Kleist, and the latter's friendship for Sophie von Haza who, at the age of thirty-five and as mother of four children, was granted a divorce and married Müller, who was five years younger than she. At first, Kleist apparently endeavored to conciliate Sophie and Landrat von Haza. But in view of her refusal to return to her husband, Kleist seems to have tried to overcome the objections of her parents to the divorce which enabled her to marry Müller. Baxa gives an account of personal differences which arose between Kleist and Müller, the joint editors of the *Phöbus*, and sheds light on the character and activities of the man who played a significant part in the life of Heinrich von Kleist.

In a study entitled "Vom unbegreiflichen Kleist: Sein Wille nach Wert," Josef Collin reviews Kleist's intellectual and spiritual development, together with his works as they reflect his earnest, passionate search for deeper values. Associated with this insistence upon the significant content of human life is the impelling desire to be worthy of recognition and to find recognition. Kantian philosophy dealt Kleist so crushing a blow because it completely undermined his set of values, leaving him for a time devoid of all aim and purpose. With the subsequent development of his stimulus to creative productivity, existence again assumed significance; his thirst for fame

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became so great because he regarded it as the measure of value. Consequently it is not at all surprising that the realization of the insufficiency of his artistic talents drove him to an act of madness in which he burned his *Robert Guiskard* while cursing the semi-talent with which the powers of hell had so cruelly endowed him.

Early tragic failure and later success, modest though its outward recognition was during Kleist's lifetime, Collin sees reflected in Kleist's works. He states a point of view which will bear further study, namely, the effect of Kleist's poetic productivity upon himself. Of this Collin writes: "Dichten ist Erlösen. Der Künstler befriedigt die schlimmen Triebe und die tobenden Leidenschaften im Spiele der Einbildung und der Darstellung; er reinigt sich in Selbstanklage und Selbstgericht; er überwindet den inneren Feind durch die schöpferische Macht unerschrockener Selbsterkenntnis. Durch das Werk gelangt er auch zu seinem sittlichen Wert. Indem er es erschafft, erzeugt er zugleich sich selbst und findet in diesem doppelten Schöpfungsgenuß die höchste Lust" (p. 58).

In connection with this passage *Die Familie Schroffenstein* and *Penthesilea* might well be mentioned as works which will gain in meaning if viewed as acts of liberation on the part of their author. In his first tragedy Kleist convinced himself that the morbid conception of an outward, capricious fate which malevolently and unintelligibly interferes with human ends can be resolved into a chain of interrelated acts having their basis in human character and in its baser passions. *Penthesilea* represents an act of liberation in the life of its author because it takes cognizance of tendencies which, if allowed to go unrestrained, are bound to lead to certain destruction. For the volcanic intensity of the heroine's feelings gives rise to savage outbursts which culminate in a deed of sheer madness. Uncurbed, her powerful emotions of dynamic intensity run riot and precipitate disaster. It might be added that after writing this drama Kleist sought a stabilizing force in the service of an ideal transcending self. And he turned from tragedy to dramas of a more conciliatory, optimistic type.

Dr. Beate Berwin, author of a monograph *Heinrich von Kleist* (Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, 1926), contributes an article on "Heinrich von Kleist, der Realist des Nichtwirklichen." With a modesty foreign to certain scholars who claim to have discovered the sole valid approach to the interpretation of an enigmatic poet and personality, Dr. Berwin is content to state that the possibilities for interpretations of genuine poetry are inexhaustible and that her study but serves to shed light on the phenomenon of Kleist. She finds that that which was denied the author in actual life is represented in his works with the strongest realism. Non-reality lives in Kleist's works in varied forms, as that which is desired, planned and possible; or, in other words, as that which has not yet become reality, that which has been or which is removed in space as well as in time. Again the non-real appears in the form of dissemblance and imagined situations; that is to say, in representation which consciously runs counter to actuality; also in misunderstanding, false presupposition, confusion, anachronism and in representations which unconsciously contradict reality. Furthermore, non-reality appears as incomprehensible; objectively it is seen as miracle, as running contrary to the natural laws which govern our experience, and subjectively as the demoniacal element in personality. And lastly, the final and highest form of non-reality is the idea, that which is unconditional or unqualified. This is the most significant of all manifestations of the non-real; it opens up a vista into the unbounded realm of the eternal and lends assurance to faith in that which cannot be demonstrated. It confronts us with unerring firmness; towering above all the rational proofs of actuality, it carries conviction that is based on most reliable inner feeling.

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As a genuine dramatist, Kleist lends actuality to the non-real primarily by presenting it as action taking place in the present. He does not refer to unreality as conditional but as actually existing; he even portrays persons in imagined situations with a wealth of minute concrete details in a manner that conjures them up with startling vividness and lifelikeness. Kleist's imagination is so powerful that any object seen with the mind's eye at once assumes the sharpest outlines and most distinct individuality. His gift of visualization, of concrete portrayal and expression enables him to conquer non-reality; he is an idealist who realizes the non-real.

"Heinrich von Kleist und Goethes Tasso" is the subject of a comparative study by Richard Groeper. Just as there are numerous points of resemblance between Kleist and Werther, so there are likewise many points of contact between the dramatist and Tasso as conceived by Goethe. This arresting investigation sets forth similarities in the sensitive, emotional, imaginative, self-absorbed, extreme, ambitious, tragic natures of the artist Tasso and the artist Kleist. Parallels in their relations to others as determined by their personality are likewise developed. Dr. Groeper has stressed the points of contact between the two as artistic temperaments and has refrained from elaborating differences between them as men.

In a lengthy article Karl Schultze-Jahde deals with the interpretation of Kleist's *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*. He is of the opinion that a complete understanding of the drama necessitates a revision of the actual attitude of the elector; with this end in view he analyzes the play. The elector is to be regarded as undergoing a process of development and as strongly subject to impulse. The author questions the tendency to regard the elector as a superior general and as an excellent judge of human character, views his early conduct as bordering closely on despotic frivolity and regards much of his attitude as arbitrary persistence in an ill-advised course. The elector's naive assurance of the justice of his viewpoint is undermined in the scene with Natalie (IV, 1). But since he is a different type from Homburg, since he is in a different position and because he is schooled in self-control, the effect upon him is not overwhelming, and he remains in command of the situation. Yet his confusion indicates that he is neither an out and out despot nor an infallibly superior educator of the prince who is inwardly competent to cope unperturbed with any and every situation.

The study loses somewhat in effectiveness because fundamental, significant ideas are obscured by a mass of details. Nevertheless, Dr. Schultze-Jahde has signalled a large number of difficulties which create problems in interpretation; some of these can be solved to general logical satisfaction by a careful study of the text, while others will continue to call forth a variety of explanations.

Two articles by Hans W. Gruhle and Ernst Benkard on the alleged death-mask of Kleist furnish interesting and instructive details on the technique of construction and on the treatment of such masks. Gruhle comes to the conclusion that it is improbable but not impossible that a death-mask of Kleist was made. On the other hand, on the basis of the documentary material on the dramatist's death as published by Professor Georg Minde-Pouet (*Schriften der Kleist-Gesellschaft*, Vol. V, 1925), Benkard affirms that it is impossible to regard the mask attributed to Kleist as authentic. A comparison of the sole portrait of Kleist with the so-called Kleist-mask of the Düsseldorf Academy fortifies Benkard in his conclusion. He is inclined to the belief that the mask in question is of Achim von Arnim.

As in previous years, Hans Knudsen presents statistics on the number of presentations of Kleist's dramas. The period under consideration is from September 1,

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1925, to August 31, 1926. The total number of performances listed is 392 as compared with 659 for the preceding year.

This volume is a worthy addition to the previous publications of the Kleist-Gesellschaft; they are invaluable to the student of Kleist and of German drama.

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Lee M. Hollander, *The Poetic Edda. Translated with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes.* University of Texas Press, 1928. xxxi + 396 pp.

"Traditore traduttore!" It is a platitude to say that no translation of a great work of literature was ever made which entirely satisfied readers of the original, and the translator is fortunate who has succeeded throughout even in approximating his own ideal. Nevertheless, it is good that translations should continue to be made; though they be inevitably half-loaves, they are infinitely better than no bread. Such uniquely significant and interesting monuments of Scandinavian, and, mediately, of common Germanic antiquity as the Eddic poems deserve to be made accessible beyond the narrow circle of persons acquainted with the language of the originals. It is a real distinction for American scholarship that two competent translations of the Poetic Edda in the original verse forms have within a short period been published in this country.

A translation may be justly expected to satisfy two demands: it should reproduce the form and spirit of the original as closely as possible, and it should comply with the canons of style properly applied to original works in the language into which the translation is made. Measured by these standards, Professor Hollander's book is decidedly a creditable performance. He has the indispensable qualifications for discharging his task acceptably, an expert appreciation of the original and an adequate acquaintance with the voluminous results of Eddic scholarship to date, joined with an aptitude for expression in English and a literary taste which only seldom plays him false. His introduction gives apposite information concerning the place of the Eddic lays in ancient Germanic literature and discusses conflicting theories as to their age and the place of their composition; his own opinions on these controversial matters are expressed with the discreet caution proper to a statement intended for the general reader. Each poem is preceded by an introductory note assigning it to its proper place in the "corpus" as a whole and characterizing it briefly from the viewpoint of literary artistry and cultural history. The footnotes, which are in general confined to the explanation of *realia*, are adequate without being excessively erudite. Questions of textual criticism are wisely kept in the background.

As for the translation itself, it is throughout almost uniformly good. Mr. Hollander is avowedly well aware of the difficulties besetting the attempt to reproduce in our modern English the form and content of a work written in a highly inflected language like Icelandic. The Germans have here a decisive initial advantage, which is cleverly exploited by Genzmer in his version, in the reviewer's opinion the best translation of the Eddic poems that has yet been made. If one compares the two renderings with the original and with each other, one sees that the German version usually fits its model like a glove, while the English one occasionally gives the impression of a somewhat wooly mitten. Here the fault is with the medium, not with the translator. Speaking broadly, one may say that Mr. Hollander's version seems in most cases to be as good as any English rendering can hope to be. In the interpretation of doubtful places he judiciously pursues a conservative course.

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Thus he follows one or more predecessors in his understanding of certain passages which the reviewer would take differently.[1]

The translator manages the alliteration well for the most part, occasionally allowing himself a minor license, e.g., rhyming *v* and *w*. Only rarely does he force the line into a stress foreign to English, as in "and find out this from the wise youth" (*Skm.* 1, 3), "at earliest dayspring, in wolf-forest" (*HH. I.* 17, 1), and "the stanch wave-steeds stood out to sea" (*ibid.*, 28, 4).

The following points seem to the reviewer open to criticism:

P. xi f. It is immaterial whether Snorri knew the Lay of Rig or not; *edda* still means "great-grandmother" in Icelandic (cf. p. 141, note 5, which is, however, inaccurate).

P. xii. From the Icelandic point of view, Oddi is situated in the South, not in the West.

P. xxii. "In the 'Lay of Alvis' it is the express didactic purpose to cultivate copiousness of diction by enumerating the 'unknown names' and kennings by which common objects may be designated." In this connection "unknown names" looks like a mistranslation of *ókend heiti*, which means something quite different.

Footnote. "Homer's γλαυκῶπις (*sic*) Ἀθήνη essentially a kenning too." In what sense?

P. xxvi. "In other words, of the six possible mutations of four elements, but one is not admissible, viz., the one with a purely rising inflection." The purely rising inflection is represented in B; it is the falling-rising type (–́ x | x–́) which is inadmissible. It is difficult to see the point of the remark which follows this sentence.

P. xxvii. It is misleading to say that the long-lines of the *ljóðaháttr* are of the "usual" *fornyrðislag* type.

P. 1, footnote. The nom. corresponding to the gen. *vǫlu*, "seeress," should be *vǫlva* rather than *vala*. Cf. Nordal's ed., *Völuspá*, p. 16 f.

P. 2, note 1. "Heimdall 'the Brightly Shining' (?)" is inconsistent with p. 124, note 14, "The One Shining Above the World." The possible connection with *Lux Mundi* (cf. K. Krohn, *Skandinavisk Mytologi*, p. 134) might have been mentioned.

P. 7, note 25. "Fiolnir 'the Multiscient'." Cf. p. 15, note 87, "He of Many Shapes."

P. 8, note 34. Hoth (*Hǫðr*) is tentatively equated with "Hate," with which it is only distantly related, if at all. The name appears in Ags. as an appellative (*heaðu*, "battle"), and enters such compounds as Ags. *Heaðubrond*, OHG. *Hadubrant*, ON. *Hǫðbroddr*.

[1] *Rþ.* 2, 2; 14, 2; 26, 3. The meaning is unquestionably the same in all cases, namely, "the door was open, the latch-string was out," just as one would expect from the uniformly hospitable reception which Rig gets at the three houses that he successively visits. Cf. Valtýr Guðmundsson, *Privatboligen paa Island i Sagatiden*, pp. 233 ff. I have for two years thus interpreted the passages to my students, and now find my opinion supported in Gering's posthumous commentary (Halle, 1927).

Ls. 44, 4. I would take *und* in its usual sense, "under," and *kvernum* = *kvernsteinum* (see Fritzner, s.v.). "To cluck under querns," in impotent protest against being ground into meal, obviously suits the nature of Byggvir-Barleycorn (for the widespread use of barley meal in Scandinavia see Hoops, *Reallexikon*, article "Gerste") and accords well with the other taunts hurled at him by malicious Loki (þik í flets straī finna né mǫttu, þá es vǫgu verar).

References are to Gering's text, 4th ed.

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P. 24, stanza 43, 3. "his" should be "thy."

P. 64, note 11. "Sunken Hall (?)." The second element of the compound is evidently the word for "brook," cf. Magnus Olsen's ed. of Munch's *Gude- og Heltesagn*, p. 221.

P. 75, line 11 from bottom. For "courses" read "cruxes"?

P. 78. Why is the convincing and significant etymology of Gerth proposed by Gering and Magnus Olsen ("the Fenced Field") omitted, when so many dubious derivations are given in other cases?

P. 99. The punctuation of stanza 7 is confusing. Line 3 should be in parenthesis or the subject of "went" in the following line should be expressed ("they").

P. 106, note 10. The nom. sg. is *áss*, not *ás*.

P. 187, note 2. "Ags. *Nīðhād*, 'Envious Hater'." *-hād* has at most only a very remote connection with "hate." It is a folk-etymological distortion of OHG. *-had* = Ags. *heaðu*, ON. *Hǫðr* (see above). The mutual relationships are well stated by Jiriczek, *Die deutsche Heldensage*, Sammlung Göschen, 4th ed., pp. 26, 32.

P. 211. "*vagina gentium*" is inaccurately quoted from the familiar passage in Jordanes (*officina gentium, . . . vagina nationum*).

P. 391. "Iormunrekk (Hermanarich)." Why the H? and why omit the Ags. equivalent, which is in other cases appropriately given where it exists?

P. 393. What is the meaning of the entry at the bottom of the first column, "Ran, 166"?

In the difficult matter of ON. proper names the translator seems in general to follow the excellent rules laid down by Professor Schofield in the preface to *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, but he is regrettably inconsistent. He usually omits the nom. case ending, but retains it unaccountably in certain cases: Bryniólfr, Frár, Imthr (also Imth), Nár, Nýr, Thír, Thrór, Týr and its compounds. Sæmund(r) vacillates between the two forms (see pp. x, xi [three times], 393). Ván, p. 115 (also in the index), should be Vón, as on p. 68 (likewise in the index), according to the translator's own system of representing the long open *o* sound. He indicates vowel length by the acute, but there are a number of cases where the diacritic is omitted: Arni for Árni (all the occurrences, twice on p. xii, once in the index), Arngrim for -grím (three times out of six), Lettfeti for Léttfeti (twice). Of the five names "Alf" in the index, all but the first should have the accent. In "Hrēthric" (two occurrences, p. 157 and index under "Hrœrek") the vowel of the second syllable is also long and should be marked with the macron. The spelling of ON. words in titles is similarly inconsistent, the characters þ and ð being used indiscriminately to represent the voiced spirant.

No attempt has been made to collect systematically the misprints, of which there are not a few.

F. Stanton Cawley

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H. Schück och K. Warburg, *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria*. Tredje fullständigt omarbetade upplagan, utgiven av Henrik Schück. I. Forntiden och Medeltiden, 464 sidor; II. Reformationstiden och Stormaktstiden, 468 sidor; III. Frihetstiden, 626 sidor; IV. Gustavianska Tiden, 591 sidor. Stockholm: Hugo Gebers Förlag.

It would be difficult for anyone to conceive of a more scholarly, interesting and monumental work than the new edition of Schück and Warburg's well-known history of Swedish literature. One is astounded at the energy and magnitude of labor that

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have entered into the last revision of this classic undertaking. Even the boldest favorable superlatives applied to it seem trite, since we have little or nothing elsewhere to which we can justly compare it. In scope and general character its position and value must be considered unique in Germanic scholarship. It is indeed doubtful whether such a happy combination of knowledge, criticism, beauty, dignity and intellectual sympathy has ever before been brought together in literary history. A long, fascinating story enthusiastically told, it is popular throughout, yet keenly and authoritatively analytical, learned but in no wise pedantic. This last edition, also, is the product of a single scholar, Henrik Schück, Professor Emeritus at the University of Uppsala and member of the Swedish Academy, who since the death of his eminent colleague in 1918 has carried on the work alone.

In view of the high quality of the two earlier editions of *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria* one might well ask why a new edition was necessary at this time. The answer is simple: because the second was long ago sold out—a strong and encouraging recommendation when one considers the Swedish language of the work and the obvious cost of such a set of books. In the interim, since the appearance of the second edition, a vast amount of research in Swedish literary history had revealed new facts and brought new interpretations to light that had to be included. So instead of a reprint, a thorough revision was decided upon. The present edition, therefore, is infinitely more than a mechanical reproduction of the old version plus a few new names and bibliographical references with an occasional altered criticism added perhaps in a footnote. The new edition is virtually a piece of original scholarship. Every page apparently has been or will be rewritten, and there will be eventually between three and four thousand pages in all. Besides the inclusion of much new material, the whole plan has been changed, and critical estimates have of course been brought up to date. Many authors have received substantially modified evaluations. Every volume of the *Litteraturhistoria* has been provided with its own bibliography; the already numerous illustrations—sketches, portraits, vignettes, engravings, lithographs, facsimiles and caricatures of all kinds—have been further increased in number by recent discoveries; and of medieval texts translations have been supplied.

It is expected that the whole work will be completed in 1930, and will comprise six large parts, of which (as this review is intended to announce) four have already appeared. Early Swedish literature is now treated much more fully than before. Especially the material common to all Germanic countries is given a fullness and excellency of delineation that reveals a mastery of comparative scientific values and an unsurpassed background of information. *Forntiden*, *Medeltiden*, *Reformationstiden* and *Stormaktstiden* are periods which in the new treatment are given almost twice as much space as before. One volume has been expanded into two. A final and, as we assume, seventh volume will contain additional literary and cultural annals, biographical data of the authors cited, and a complete index.

But it is essential to remember what the authors mean by the term "litteraturhistoria." They mean *all* literature, except that the emphasis is laid, naturally, on belles lettres. So the work under review is really a history of Swedish thought, culture and civilization, insofar as this is reflected in the literature of Sweden. It is the complete saga of a people, of Swedish intellectual development in all fields. Here we can follow, for instance, besides the story of polite letters, the history of education, philosophy and journalism. Schools, universities, the press, censorship, the book market, political history, economics, oratory, medicine, jurisprudence, philology, the science of antiquity and the more exact sciences, are all treated in this work

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through its literature. Obviously, the *Litteraturhistoria* is not a text-book of science; but it deals with the evolution of printed scientific records as it does with that of other writings. Linnaeus is given forty pages in Schück's revised edition. Commensurate space is devoted to the arts and the theatre. Nor is the background narrowly confined to Swedish culture: foreign influences receive due attention, and these could never have been outlined by a more knowing mind. While Schück's rewritten version is more strictly national than its immediate predecessor, we now find in Del IV fifteen weighty pages given to "Utlandet och Sverige."

In this immense production the most remarkable characteristic perhaps is its exquisite human quality, its vibrating life. Back of every work of art or science appears its author as a well-rounded personality of flesh and blood, standing out in plastic reality, in all his strength or weakness, a person who in any case deserves an acquaintance. A painstaking, picturesque description of a writer and his environment brings sympathy for his works. The three become then an organic unity. Furthermore, biographical data, anecdotes and pictures are ever presented with a smile. Professor Schück's good nature will deservedly win many friends for his *Litteraturhistoria*. With him seriousness and humor are imperatively complimentary. And, no dead or desiccated learning in his creations! The old lives again. The present reviewer is only wondering whether the reviser, with all the captivating things that he introduces, expects to treat Del VI, "Tiden efter romantiken," in one volume. If so, it would seem perhaps a little out of proportion to the space granted the earlier periods. But this is a matter of plan and opinion.

To illustrate adequately the details of Schück's history is of course impossible in any review; nor is it necessary. Suffice to emphasize that the perspective maintained of individuals and cultural forces and movements is unquestionably as proper as it is humanly possible to have; and it is maintained with uniform power, vitality and simplicity of style—just what we should expect from the "North's most gigantic humanist," as Schück has been called. Particularly striking are his description of Queen Christina's personality; his clarification of medievalism, renaissance, and reformation in the various lands; his biography of that lovable nature-child, Bellman; his account of the strife between the orthodox church and the dissenting sects; his life of the much neglected Swedenborg; his pathfinding enumeration of the different actors and actresses, based on more recent investigations; and his brilliant portraits of the Gustavians, for whom the author has a special predilection. The founding of the Swedish Academy is given suitable prominence; the author—always showing movements in their proper relations—points out that mysticism ran side by side with rationalism, and that to understand Kellgren's *Upplysningstid* we must first know something about contemporaneous treasure hunts and mesmeristic seances. In his own special centuries, the sixteenth and the seventeenth, in which Professor Schück has done so much notable research, he reigns supreme, as usual.

Needless to say, *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria* is a beautiful example of Swedish bookmaking at its best. It may be obtained in paper covers or bound either in cloth or in leather. The edition in cloth binding is highly satisfactory for ordinary purposes, and may be bought for between twenty-five and thirty kronor per volume. The size is what the reviewer would call a small quarto, and the paper is excellent. The cost is fairly reasonable, everything considered—which cannot be said for all Swedish books. Schück's admirable work will find some, and should have many, purchasers outside of the Scandinavian countries. All large libraries should have it on their reference shelves, and Germanic seminars can scarcely afford to go without it

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For the private scholar its acquisition would be an event, its possession a rare opportunity and convenience, for this treasure-house of thought and information contains the most solid and comprehensive foundation for all studies of Swedish books and writers.

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A Union Catalog of Photo-Facsimiles in North American Libraries. Material so far received by the Library of Congress compiled by the Curator of Union Catalogs of the Library of Congress. 8vo, 51 pp. Yardley, Pennsylvania: F. S. Cook and Son, 1929. Price: $1.00.

American scholars will welcome this attempt to publish a list of the photostat reproductions in American libraries. No doubt, members of the M.L.A. are familiar with the efforts of the Association in the matter of rotographs and their deposit in the Library of Congress. The lists of these have been published in the *PMLA* from time to time. But other University libraries are adding constantly to the supply and naturally there has been need of a union list.

Thanks to the efforts of Mr. Ernest Kletsch, the curator of union catalogs, such a list is now available. It contains about 1000 titles of photo-facsimiles found in the following libraries: University of Toronto; University of California; Library of Congress; the Newbury Library, Chicago; University of Chicago; University of Illinois; University of Iowa; Harvard; Historical Society, Boston; Wellesley College; University of Michigan; Cornell University; New York Public Library; Columbia University; Princeton University; and the University of Wisconsin.

For scholars in our field the most recent and best collection in the list is the series of facsimiles of MSS and rare books in the M.L.A. deposit in the Library of Congress, which now includes 96 titles. Cards for this collection are either already printed or are in preparation, and will be furnished to contributors to the M.L.A. fund. The catalog itself may be used by libraries in lieu of cards, since it is multigraphed on only one side, thus allowing the libraries to cut and paste the entries to serve as temporary cards.

Besides the list itself, there are three short appendices which will be found useful. The first is an alphabetic arrangement of institutions and libraries quoted in the list as holders of original copy; the second, a geographical distribution of locations of originals of photostat copies mentioned in the list; and the third, a list of private collectors and collections quoted in the list as holders of original copy.

The compiler makes no claim to completeness since the list is made up wholly of voluntary responses from libraries to a circular letter requesting such lists. This letter contained a standing invitation to libraries to send entries for any photographic reproductions of books or MSS. Certainly the publication of this work should serve as a stimulus to other libraries and increase the entries to a point where a later edition will represent a fairly up-to-date list of such documents.

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AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, JULY–AUGUST–SEPTEMBER, 1929 *

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—— Price, Lawrence Marsden: *Goldsmith, Sesenheim, and Goethe.* GR, IV, 3 (July), 237–247.

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List of Periodicals Used and Abbreviations

(BR) = brief review
tr. = translation

AJP.....*American Journal of Philology*, Baltimore, Maryland.
AM.....*American Mercury*, New York, N. Y.
ASR.....*American Scandinavian Review*, New York, N. Y.
Atlantic Monthly, Boston, Mass.
BLM.....*Book League Monthly*, New York, N. Y.
Bookman, New York, N. Y.
BA.....*Books Abroad*, Norman, Oklahoma.
Century, New York, N. Y.
Commonweal, New York, N. Y.
Dial, New York, N. Y.
Drama, Mount Morris, Ill.
Forum, New York, N. Y.
GQ.....*German Quarterly*, New York, N. Y.
GR.....*Germanic Review*, New York, N. Y.
GBM.....*Golden Book Magazine*, New York, N. Y.
Harpers, New York, N. Y.
JEGP.....*Journal for English and Germanic Philology*, Urbana, Ill.
Language, Baltimore, Md.
LA.....*Living Age*, Boston, Mass.
LD.....*Literary Digest*, New York, N. Y.
Menorah Journal, New York, N. Y.
MLJ.....*Modern Language Journal*, Menasha, Wisconsin.
MLN.....*Modern Language Notes*, Baltimore, Maryland.
MP.....*Modern Philology*, Chicago, Ill.
MFDU.....*Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht*, Madison, Wisconsin.
Nation, New York, N. Y.
NR.....*New Republic*, New York, N. Y.
NAR.....*North American Review*, Concord, New Hampshire.
Open Court, Chicago, Ill.
Outlook and Independent, New York, N. Y.

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PQ.....*Philological Quarterly*, Iowa City, Iowa.
Plain Talk, New York, N. Y.
Poet Lore, Boston, Mass.
Poetry, Chicago, Ill.
PMLA.....*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, New York, N. Y.
RR.....*Review of Reviews*, New York, N. Y.
SRL.....*Saturday Review of Literature*, New York, N. Y.
SS.....*Scandinavian Studies*, Menasha, Wisconsin.
Scribner's, New York, N. Y.
Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tennessee.
South Atlantic Quarterly, Durham, North Carolina.
Southwest Review, Austin, Texas.
SP.....*Studies in Philology*, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
TAM.....*Theatre Arts Monthly*, New York, N. Y.
VQR.....*Virginia Quarterly Review*, University, Va.
World's Work, Garden City, N. Y.
YR.....*Yale Review*, New Haven, Connecticut.

List of Newspapers Used and Abbreviations

BTBS.....*Boston Transcript Book Section*, Boston, Mass. (Wed. and Sat.)
CSM.....*Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, Mass. (Wed. and Fri.)
NYEP.....*New York Evening Post*, New York, N. Y. (Sat.)
NYHTB....*New York Herald and Tribune Books*, New York, N. Y. (Sun.)
NYS.....*New York Sun*, New York, N. Y. (Sat.)
NYTBR....*New York Times Book Review*, New York, N. Y. (Sun.)
NYW.....*New York World*, New York, N. Y. (Sun.)

Books Indexed and Abbreviations

CUCIL.....*The Columbia University Course in Literature.* N. Y.: Columbia University Press.
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THE GERMANIC REVIEW

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STUDIES ON THE ALSATIAN PARZIVAL

BY EDMUND KURT HELLER

WITHIN the last five years a number of new studies have been published on Wolfram von Eschenbach.[1] Scholars have searched anew the field of medieval literature from India to Spain in order to discover motifs kindred to the theme of the Parzival. Considering this, it seems astonishing indeed that the Alsatian Parzival has never shared the interest which Wolfram's Parzival evoked in such a high degree. In the present century only one publication concerning it has appeared, a study of its versification.[2] An untimely death in the war prevented the author of that work from continuing an investigation which might have brought about a revision of the unfavorable criticism which the poem has found in the leading histories of German medieval literature, from Gervinus[3] and Scherer[4] to Vogt[5] and Golther.[6] In the last edition of Scherer's work the Alsatian poem is not mentioned at all. Vogt refers

[1] Bibliography. For the literature on the Grail see J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, Göttingen, 1923; on Parzival, W. Golther, *Parzival und der Gral*, Stuttgart, 1925, and Gustav Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Band III, München, 1927. Besides, F. R. Schröder, *Die Parzivalfrage*, München, 1928; Käte Laserstein, *Wolframs von Eschenbach germanische Sendung. Ein Beitrag zur Stellung des Dichters in seiner Zeit*, Berlin, 1928; *Parzival und Titurel*, hg. von Karl Bartsch. Vierte Auflage, b.v. Marta Marti. Band I, Leipzig, 1927; Band II, 1929. Gottfried Weber, Wolfram von Eschenbach. I. Frankfurt, 1928.

[2] Kurt Marquardt, *Die Verskunst des neuen Parzival*, herausgegeben von Else Habering, Königsberg, 1916.

[3] Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, 5. Auflage, Leipzig, 1871, p. 181 f.

[4] Lorenz und Scherer, *Geschichte des Elsasses*, S. 71. W. Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Berlin, 1921.

[5] Vogt und Koch, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1923, I, 226.

[6] W. Golther, *Die deutsche Literatur im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1922, p. 410 f.

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to it in only seven lines in which he states that the authors did "Handwerksarbeit" without coming up to Wolfram's spirit and poetical form. Wolfgang Golther goes even further, calling the poem "schlechteste Handwerksware." He claims that the authors made impossible additions to Wolfram without trying to bring together the heterogeneous elements of their sources.

To my mind the foregoing statements are apt to give an entirely erroneous impression. The fact alone that the Alsatian poem inserts 807 lines in 26 different places, and 36,984 lines in one place into the 24,812 lines of Wolfram's Parzival, should give food for thought and should warrant an investigation. Anybody who is fortunate enough to see the beautiful MS. in the library of the Duke of Fürstenberg at Donaueschingen will agree with me that a vindication of the poem should be undertaken, especially as a similar appeal, made as early as 1888 by Karl Schorbach, in his preface to the only existing edition of the poem,[7] was of no avail. A detailed study of the Alsatian Parzival will also throw new light upon questions concerning the composition of Wolfram's Parzival which have remained points of contention among the scholars.

We cannot blame W. Golther when he calls the Alsatian Parzival as a whole "unförmlich," shapeless. In order to arrive at a just appraisal we must, however, bear in mind that even the masterwork of Middle High German literature, Wolfram's Parzival, is far from faultless in its plot, as the Gawain chapters take up entirely too much space and do not balance with the Parzival story proper. In rendering Crestien's story Wolfram refrained from paring it down ruthlessly, although he focused our interest on Parzival and created a character that has often been compared to Goethe's Faust. In composing the Alsatian Parzival, its authors did not have the freedom which Wolfram enjoyed a little over a century before. Owing to circumstances, they did not dare to omit any of the material which presented itself in their sources. We know this from an epilog of 558 lines which contains a detailed account of the way in which the poem originated. In this epilog one of

[7] *Elsässische Litteraturdenkmäler aus dem XIV–XVII. Jahrhundert*, herausgegeben von Ernst Martin und Erich Schmidt. 5. Band, Straßburg, 1888.

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the authors, Philipp Colin, a goldsmith from Strassburg, states that he was employed by Count Ulrich von Rappoltstein for four years and four months in order to turn into German verse a French book which was in the count's possession. He also names another poet, Claus Wisse, who had started working at the same task one year ahead of him, and their two secretaries who turned out the final MS. There is no reason to question Schorbach's assumption that the poem was finished in 1336 at the count's castle, of which the ruins may still be seen near Rappoltsweiler in Alsace.

At the beginning of the epilog Wolfram's Parzival is mentioned in a passage which lends itself to different interpretations. That a MS. of Wolfram's Parzival was in the count's library may be concluded from the fact that we find a transcript of this work incorporated in the Alsatian poem. We thus have a case that is quite unique in medieval literature: two poets compose an epic poem in a systematic way, basing it on two MSS. in different languages simultaneously before them. Their French source [8] contained the works of Crestien, Pseudo-Gautier, Gautier and Manessier and had a length of about 45,000 lines. The MS. stood very close to MS. 12576 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which has unfortunately never been edited. Until an edition is forthcoming it is necessary to rely upon the edition of Potvin.[9] It would not be difficult to establish which of the numerous German Parzival MSS. the Alsatians used, but it is a matter of no great importance.

The difficulties which Wisse and Colin had to face should not be underestimated, as the French and German poems told

[8] Hugo Waitz, *Die Fortsetzungen von Chrestien's Perceval le Gallois nach den Pariser Handschriften*, Straßburg, 1890, p. 35, reaches the following conclusion: "Was nun das Verhältnis zwischen E (MS. Paris 12576) und D (MS. of Donaueschingen) betrifft, so ist bereits bemerkt worden, daß D von allen uns bekannten Handschriften E am nächsten steht. D läßt sich in der Tat mit wenigen Ausnahmen als eine wörtliche Übersetzung der Redaktion E bezeichnen. In der ersten Fortsetzung ist nur eine Stelle zu erwähnen, an welcher D eine Zeit lang von E abweicht und mit F (Paris 12577) übereinstimmt. . . . Einer anderen Stelle, wo der Unterschied zwischen E und D allerdings äußerst gering war, ist bereits p. 5 gedacht worden. Diese Stellen beweisen, daß die Vorlage von D nicht die Hs. E selbst gewesen ist, sondern eine Hs. gewesen sein muß, welche E äußerst ähnlich war."

[9] *Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal*, publié par Ch. Potvin. 7 vols. Mons, 1867, Paris, 1868.

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conflicting stories. The authors solved this problem in as clever a way as was humanly possible: it must be called a masterstroke that they decided to split Wolfram's Parzival in two, and to insert the translation of the works of Crestien's continuators into the German poem at the end of Wolfram's fourteenth book. Neither did they have Wolfram's Parzival copied mechanically by their secretaries: a close collation shows insertions of different length in 26 places. Schorbach has taken the trouble of indicating all the additions which Wisse and Colin made to Wolfram's text, and he states in a general way that they were mostly taken from the French.

A minute investigation of the parallels shows the following results:

Additions made by W/C. to W's Parzival:

Book I	2—2—2—2 lines
II	2—2—504 lines
III	2—4—2—26 lines
IV	2—18 lines
VI	2—18 lines
XV	26—74—10—2 lines
XVI	2—2—4—54—28 lines

Alterations:

Book I	1 line
II	1–13 lines
IV	2 lines
XVI	2 lines changed into 4

In scrutinizing the additions I have been unable to find any parallels in French to those that comprise one, two or four lines each, and for the ten lines in XV. All of these short additions are insignificant in contents. The same may be said of the alterations; the longest alteration (13 lines in W/C. instead of Parzival 112, 21–27) is unquestionably due to a more refined feeling for propriety.

The first addition taken from the French is also the longest. It is found at the end of the second book of Parzival, and has the title:

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So hebet hie an der prologus von Parcifal,
der us welschem zuo tüschem ist gemaht
unde vohet hie sine kintheit an.

It is significant that W/C. placed this prolog right after the report of Parzival's birth. This arrangement shows clearly that they realized that Wolfram's first two and last two books had no parallels in French, a discovery the importance of which is emphasized by the fact that it required some 500 years for scholars after them to reëstablish it.

On the whole, the prolog proves to be a literal translation from the beginning of the French Mons MS., edited by Potvin. In the other French Perceval MSS. this part is missing; it is found, however, in the prose MS. of 1530. The French prolog is generally known by the name of "Elucidation." Miss Jessie Weston, the untiring worker in the field of Arthurian romance, does not overstate the case when she calls the Elucidation "perplexing";[10] she says: "The Elucidation is an exceedingly confused text; it is by no means easy to discover what the writer was driving at; possibly he was not certain himself."

The parallelism in the French and German poems begins when we hear of the destruction of the kingdom of Logres: Potvin II, p. 2, line 26:

Coment et por coi fu destruis
De Logres li rices pais;

W/C. p. LVII, line 22:

wie Logers daz vil riche lant
zerstöret wart und abe nam.

The damage done is so great that the earth is not worth two nuts:

Po. 30 La tière fu morte et déserte,
Si que pou ne valu .II. nois;

W/C. 26 das ertriche wueste wart geleit
unde wart nüt zweier nusse wert,

[10] Jessie Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval.* London, 1906, I, 178, 281.

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Now follows a strange story of the maidens of the wells who furnish food and refreshments to passing knights. In the German poem they become maidens of the mountain, as the poets confused the modern French words *puits* and *puy*.

Po. 59 Les pucièles communaument
Servoient biel et liement
Tous ceus qui les cemins erroient
Et por mangier as puis venoient.

W/C. 63 die megede diendent alle
mit muot und ouch mit schalle
den, die des gebirges noment war
und durch essens willen komen dar.

The most beautiful of the maidens carries a vessel of gold; others bring towels and dishes:

Po. 47 Coupe d'or portoit en sa main,
Avoec lardés, pastés et pain;]
Raportoit une autre pucele
Touaile blanke et escuièle
D'or et d'argent. . . .

W/C. 46 in irre hant von golde clar
ein napf si im engegen truog.
vil ander reine megede cluog
truogent tartern, wastel, brot.
denne brohte sunder not
ein ander maget hochgemuot
tweheln wis unde schüsseln guot
von golde und ouch von silber wert.

Matters change with the appearance of the wicked King Amangons:

Po. 69 Des puceles une esforcha,
Sor son pois le despucela
Et la coupe d'or li toli,
Si l'emporta ensamble od li,

W/C. 77 ir einre iren magetuom er nam
(ach got, wie gar übel im daz gezam!),
über iren willen daz geschach.
den napf er von ir hende brach
unde truog in dannan alzehant.

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Owing to the shameful deeds of the king and his followers, the girls stop their services:

Po. 87 Ains puis, de nul des puis n'issi
Pucièle, nule ne siervi;

W/C. 99 darnach us dem gebirge kam
kein jungfrowe, die sich dienestz an nam.

A great drought occurs:

Po. 96 K'ains puis n'i ot arbre fuelli;
Li pré et les flor essécièrent
Et les aiges apeticièrent,

W/C. 108 das kein boum me bluete do bar.
die velt die wurdent bluomen an,
das gras wart val und ungetan,
die wasser dünne ane genuht,

The king and his men come to grief:

Po. 92 Et li rois en fist male fin,
Et trestout li autre après lui,
Qui lor orent fait maint anui.

W/C. 104 der künig beholte ein böses ende
und die andern alle sunder won,
die in ie leit hettent geton.

The story now turns abruptly to King Arthur's Round Table. His good knights vow to defend the helpless damsels; the despoilers are harshly dealt with:

Po. 133 Quant cil en pooient .I. prendre,
Sel faisoient ocirre ou pendre;

W/C. 151 unde so si der einen viengent,
den branten si or hiengent.

The girls have, however, disappeared:

Po. 141 Ains tant nel seurent demander
Que il péuscent riens trover;

W/C. 159 ir heischen daz enhalf si niht,
das si ir kundent vinden iht,

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The knights who are seeking them have a strange adventure:

Po. 145 Mais tele aventure trovoient
Dont moult forment s'esmervelloient:

W/C. 163 aber soliche aventüre in zuo kam,
das es si vil gros wunder nam.

They find other girls in the woods:

Po. 147 K'ès foriès trovoient puceles,
Jà ne demandissiés plus beles;

W/C. 165 in den welden si jungfrowen funden,
das si niht schoner erwünschen kunden.

Since these maidens are protected by knights on horseback, many a battle ensues:

Po. 152 Ensamble à eus se combatoient
Qui les lor voloient tolir;
Maint chevalier fisent morir;

W/C. 170 die tavelrunder mit in stritten,
ir juncfrowen si in nemen wolten:
des rittere vil den tot erholten.

A knight captured by Gawain is sent to the king's court and tells an interesting story:

Po. 170 Mais si très bons contes savoit
Que nus ne se péust lasser
De ses paroles escouter.

W/C. 190 doch seit er in von solicher geschiht,
das nieman möhte verdriessen
193 zuo hörende der rede sin.

The knights are the sons of the ill-fated maidens of the wells (mountains):

Po. 189 Tuit somes né des damoseles,
Jamais el mont n'ara plus beles,
Que rois Amangons enforça;

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W/C. 211 Wir sint geborn von jungfrowen also fin
daz in der welte nie schonre wurden schin,
der künig Amangon nam ir ere,

The passage that follows is rather dark in meaning; nevertheless the Alsatian poets translated it literally. The prolog now turns to Perceval and presents a summary of his Grail adventure. We are given a short report of the youth's first appearance at King Arthur's court. He is called

Po. 232 .I. jouenes chevaliers
Qui moult ert de petit éage;

W/C. 262 ein ritter cluog, hate stolzen sin,
der gar von jungen joren was.

A lengthy description of his Grail visit follows:

Po. 248–338 W/C. 280–386

The French lines 339–382 have nothing to do with the story. They tell of the seven branches of the Grail narrative, which have already been mentioned at the beginning of the prolog (Po. 15–22). Potvin remarks here: "La traduction en prose esquive cette énumération assez confuse." As there is no equivalent in the German poem, Schorbach assumes that the Alsatian poets followed here another French text. This inference seems unwarranted to me; I rather think that the passage was omitted on purpose, as the authors could do nothing with it. Both poems now continue exactly alike and tell how the finding of the Grail changes everything:

Po. 389 Que les aigues qui ne couroient
Et les fontaines ki n'issoient,
Mais avoient esté taries,
Couroient par les praeries;
Lors furent li pré vert et dru,
Et li bos fuelli et vestu;

W/C. 407 die wasser die nüt flussen do
und die quegburnen ouch also
die gewunnent iren flus als e,

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412 die heide val wart wider jung,
die wisen gruene mit bluomen bespreit,
die welde mit loube wol gecleit.

Both poems conclude the prolog with a rather dark report of the founding of villages and castles:

Po. 405 Cil fisent castiaus et chités,
Viles et bours et fremetés,

W/C. 427 si mahtent stette und burge cluog,
bruochüser, slos und dörfer genuog

Specially mentioned are the Castle of the Maidens, the Dangerous Bridge, and Castle Orgelus:

Po. 407 Et fisent pour les damoseles
Le rice castel as pucièles;
Cil fisent le pont perellous
Et le grant castel orguellous;

W/C. 429 unde mahtent durch der jungfrowen lon
der megede burg rich wolgeton,
die brugke sorgsam durch grus
und daz grosse kastel Orgullus.

King Arthur wages war against the founders of these castles for four years. Afterwards there is a big hunt and general rejoicing:

Po. 473 En grand séjor furent torné
Trestout l'iver jusqu'à l'esté.

W/C. 497 ir kurzewile was maniger lege
den winter reht untz uf den meige.

After these lines the Alsatian poets take up abruptly Wolfram's text. The parallels which I have pointed out leave very little doubt that they translated the prolog from a MS. which stood close to the Mons MS. Objection to this theory may be raised through the argument that we find not a trace in W/C. of a second prolog which follows the Elucidation in the Mons MS. and is found only here, and in the British Museum

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MS. 36614. It tells of Perceval's father Bliocadrans and has been named the Bliocadrans episode. However, the invalidity of the argument becomes apparent when we consider that W/C. had already copied the story of Parzival's father Gamuret. They could not very well include a different story of the hero's father and therefore did not translate the Bliocadrans episode.

Proceeding with the examination of the additions, we come to Parzival III. In this book we find, after three minor additions of no importance, an interpolation of 26 lines after Parzival 175, 4, which I find very significant for the style of the Alsatians. Young Parzival is being instructed by an old knight in the art of self defense. The conversation runs in the form of an examination and is of a vividness unsurpassed in medieval literature. The young man answers the first question with flying colors:

Po. 2703 Amis, se vous encontriiés
Un chevalier, que feriiés
S'il vos féroit?—Jel referroie!

W/C. after
Parz. 175, 4 Er sprach: frünt guoter, sagent an,
kême ein ritter oder ein ander man,
der üch sluege, waz were üwer sin?
slueg er mich, ich slueg ouch in.

The answer to the second question is not so good:

Po. 2706 Et se vostre lance péçoie,
Apriès çou n'i aroit-il plus?
Mais k'ès puins li corroie sus!

W/C. ob üch denne breche üwer sper,
wer nüt fürbaz üwer ger?
zwore, ob ich im iht vertruege,
mit den füsten ich in sluege.

The tutor is horrified:

Po. 2709 Amis, ce ne ferés vous mie.

W/C. frünt, darzuo hant dekeinen vliz.

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He answers the young man's innocent question:

Po. 2710 Que ferai-jou?—Par escrémie,
Del espée l'irés requerre.

W/C. wie tete ich denne in schirmes wiz?
mit dem swerte ane verdriez
begegent im . . .

Thereupon he demonstrates what should be done:

Po. 2712 Lors, fice devant lui en terre
La lance toute droite estant:
Li preudom li convoite tant
D'armes ensignier et aprendre
Que il s'en sace bien desfendre
A l'espée, se l'en requiert,
Et envaïr quant lius en iert.
Puis a main à l'espée mise;
Amis, fait-il, en itel guise
Vos deffendrois, s'on vos assaut.

W/C. . . . daz sper er sties
in die wise für sich ufreht.
des würtes beginnen waz gar sleht
in von wapen leren sicherlich,
daz er wol könne weren sich.
dan daz swert in die hant er nam;
frünt, sprach er, fürwor alsam
söllent ir üch weren, keret man üch an.

This reminds Perceval of his early life in the country:

Po. 2722 De ce, fait-il, se Dex me saut,
Ne set nus tant come je fac;
Qu'ès bovriaus et as talevas,
Ciés ma mère, en apris assés,
Tant ke sovent en fui lassés.

W/C. bi gotte, es enkan kein man
so vil alse ich in jagende zil,
wenne ich hans an den swinen vil
gelernet fürwar, so wissent daz,

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di wile ich bi minre muoter waz,
so daz ich sin uf alle vart
vil dicke rehte muede wart.

The eighteen-line addition to Parzival IV is of a personal nature: an appeal of Claus Wisse to his master.

The eighteen lines added to Book VI are taken from the source. After cursing Perceval and declaring him unfit to belong to the Round Table, the ugly Grail messenger states that she has to return to the Castiel Orguellos:

Po. 6062 Puis dist la damosele au roi:
6066 Ne sai se vos avés oï
Del Castiel Orguellos parler,
Mais anuit m'i covient aler.
El castiel, chevaliers de pris
A.v.c. et sissante et dis,
Et saciés qu'il n'i a celui
Qui n'ait s'amie avoeques lui,
Gentius fames, cointes et beles;
Por cou vos en di les noveles
Que là ne faut nus ki i alle
Qui là ne truist joste u batalle;
Qui viout faire chevalerie,
Se là le quiert, n'i faura mie;

W/C. after
Parz. 319, 18 Kundrie sprach aber hie:
her künig, gehortent ir ie
von kastel Orgeluse sagen?
die mere wil ich nüt verdagen.
do wonent drühundert ritter guot
und sehse und sehzig wolgemuot.
do hat bi im ouch, herre min,
iegelicher ouch sine fründin,
die edel ist und wunnebere:
dovon sage ich üch die mere.
ouch sint iegelichem sunder wan
zwanzig ritter untertan.
do velet nieman, der da ritet:
wil er, er justieret oder stritet.
wer ritterschaft suochen wil,
kumet er dar, er vindet ir vil.

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Her challenge is taken up by one of the knights:

Po. 6099 Et Giflès, li fius Do, redist
Qu'il ira, se Dex li aït,

W/C. Gyflet Does sun sprach do zestunt:
ich rite dar, blip ich gesunt.

Schorbach did not notice any additions to Books VII–XIV of Wolfram's Parzival. After XIV the Alsatian poets present in 36426 lines a translation from Crestien's continuators, which on the whole runs parallel to Potvin up to the latter's line 45035. I shall present a study of these episodes at a later date. I noticed, however, a peculiar fact: Potvin's text contains 343 lines in addition to the text translated by W/C. Quite a number of these lines may be found in literal translation in unexpected places in the last two books of Wolfram's Parzival. This fact has never been pointed out before, as far as I can ascertain.

The first addition to Book XV is found after Parz. 769, 28. It consists of twenty lines which correspond literally to Po. 45079–45098. It will suffice that I quote the beginning and the end of the parallel:

Po. 45079 Assés ont ensamble parlé
Et en oiant et à chelé;
Et li rois trestous apiéla
Les barons qnant (!) qu'il en i a,

W/C. Sü rettent mitteinander vil gar
heimliche und offenbar.
darnach ruofte künig Artus do
den helden allen dar ieso.

Po. 45097 De Calogrinant fu dolens
Li rois et tuit cil de laiens;

W/C. umbe Kolagrenans tot tugenthaft
trurte der künig und alle die ritterschaft.

The second addition (74 lines after Parz. 772, 30) is a report of Perceval on his Grail visit, which begins:

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Po. 45099 Puis lor aconta Piercheval
Comment il vit le saint Graal
Et la lance que on portoit
Dont li vermaus sans dégoutoit
Apiertement devant la gent,
Et del biel talléour d'argent,
Et de l'espée tronçonnée
Qu'il ot regointe et resaudée,
Et de la capièle la voire
Li conta, et de la main noire
A qui il s'estoit combatu,

W/C. Darnach seite aber Parzefal,
wie er sach den heilgen gral
und daz sper mit deme ysin,
us deme daz frische bluot gieng fin
vor den lüten bescheidenlich,
und von der pattenen rich
und von dem gebrochen swerte geslaht,
daz er widere hette gemaht,
und von der cappellen die er vant
und von der swarzen hant,
mit der er so stergliche vaht,

He mentions an out-of-door Christmas tree similar to the kind now popular in California:

Po. 45115 Et puis de l'arbre et des candelles
Lor a contées les mervelles,

W/C. darnach seite er vomme boume zehant,
da uffe er die kerze bürnen vant,

At the end of the report which runs exactly parallel in the French and the German poems, King Arthur orders that all the adventures be written down:

Po. 45166 Qui le fist escrire erramment,
Si com raisons est et droiture,
Le nom de ciaus et l'aventure,
Tele come cascuns le dist,

W/C. der hies es alles schriben dar
an ein buoch von worte ze wort.

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die aventüre wolt er han für ein ort
und waz ieder ritter aventüre seite

In the sixteenth book we have a long insertion which describes in 54 lines (after Parz. 820, 16) Perceval's coronation. To illustrate I again quote the beginning:

Po. 45222 A .I. jour de fieste Toussains,
Fu coronés li bons Galois;
Le jour i ot .XIIII. rois
Coronés por l'amor de lui,
Ne il n'i ot onques celui
Qui moult ne fust de grant renom;

W/C. an aller heilgen tage do
wart Parzefal gecrönet erlich.
bi imme worent vierzehen künige rich
und truogent alle cronen durch sin ere:
die selben vierzehen künige here
worent wert und fürneme gar.

and the end of the addition:

Po. 45267 Au cief del mois se départi
La cours, et li rois s'en parti
Qui ses compagnons emmena,
Jusqu'en sa tière ne fina.

W/C. noch demme monode waz daz hofiern uz.
do nam urlob künig Artus . . .
donoch reit er mit siner ritterschaft zehant
wider heim in sin lant.

The last insertion is represented by the twenty lines after Parz. 823, 10, almost at the end of Wolfram's work. It tells us of Perceval's later years and begins:

Po. 45271 Pierchevaus remest en sa tière,
.VII. ans le tint en pais sans guerre,
C'onques nus rien ne li mesfist;
Castiaus et fortereces fist.

W/C. Parzefal bleib aldo fürwor
gewaltig künig alle sine jor
mit gemache und lebete frölich
unde buwete manige vesten herlich.

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The four passages which W/C. inserted into the last two books of Parzival certainly show that these authors did not translate their French source mechanically. They must have had a reason for changing the order of the events. This reason may be found in the desire to smoothe the transition from Manessier's story to the fifteenth book of Wolfram's Parzival, which was not an easy task. They hoped to achieve this end by leaving out the last 323 lines of Manessier's text. When they proceeded with Wolfram, they decided on second thought to insert some of the verses which they had left out into places where this seemed possible. Thus they made the best of an impossible task. On account of the gigantic size of their work only very few readers will be able to criticize its shortcomings in continuity; a special study is required for this.

I hope that I have brought out the fact that Wisse and Colin were more than mere translators and gave considerable thought to the composition of their work. Their translation alone, however, is highly to be commended. In looking over the list of important Middle High German poems which have French sources (Konrad's Rolandslied; Lamprecht's Alexander; Veldeke's Eneit; Hartmann's Erec, Gregorius and Iwein; Wolfram's Parzival and Willehalm; Gottfried's Tristan und Isolt; Herbort's Battle of Troy; Fleck's Flore und Blancheflor) we do not find a single one that compares with the Alsatian Parzival in closeness of translation. This observation should do away with the strange statement that its authors did not know French at all, a statement first made by Scherer on the strength of a single passage in the epilog which runs as follows:

W/C. p. 854,
line 26

nu han ich erst an in gedoht:
ein jude ist Sampson Pine genant,
der het sine zit ouch wol bewant
an dirre oventure.
er tet unz die stüre,
waz wir zuo rimen hant bereit,
do het er unz daz tüchsch geseit
von den oventuren allen gar.

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It seems hardly possible that Pine would have translated from the French, "Zeile für Zeile," as Golther states, for five years. The authors would have acquired a reading knowledge of the language long before the end of this period, especially as they must have come in contact with many French speaking people in Alsace. May we not assume rather that they consulted Pine only occasionally and acknowledged his help at the end of their poem, much in the same way as a modern translator would do in a similar case in the preface?

I hope, further, that I have shown that the Alsatian Parzival deserves a higher valuation than it has hitherto received. I do not claim that it ranks with the masterpieces of Middle High German literature; the poem should not even be classed with them, as it clearly belongs to a different period. On the other hand, its authors Claus Wisse and Philipp Colin should be given a place among the few men who are outstanding in fourteenth century German literature.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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LUTHERS FABELDICHTUNG*

VON ALFRED GÖTZE

ALS Luther am 23. April 1530 auf der Feste Koburg einzog und einige Wochen stiller Muße vor sich sah, schrieb er Melanchthon: „Wir sind auf unserm Sinai angekommen, aber wir wollen ein Zion machen aus diesem Sinai und wollen daselbst drei Hütten bauen: dem Psalter eine, den Propheten eine, dem Äsop eine." Die dritte Hütte ist neben der Riesenleistung an Psalter und Propheten sehr klein geraten, und ein Dach hat sie von Luthers Hand überhaupt nicht bekommen: es ist das 76. Bändchen von Braunes Neudrucken, von Ernst Thiele 1888 in erster, 1911 in zweiter Auflage besorgt.

Nur noch e i n Brief jener Tage, der an Melanchthon vom 12. Mai 1530, gedenkt der Fabeln, dann ist Luther offenbar über viel Arbeit, Krankheit und Anfechtung, vor allem wohl auch vor näherliegenden literarischen Plänen, nicht mehr zu der idyllischen Beschäftigung mit den äsopischen Fabeln gekommen. Fast ist es, als wäre für ein Werk außerhalb des religiösen und kirchlichen Gebiets in diesem rastlosen Leben kein Raum. Kurz und gut: die Handschrift von Luthers Fabeln ist Bruchstück geblieben und erst 1888 zum Druck gelangt, nachdem sie Richard Reitzenstein in der Vatikanischen Sammlung entdeckt hatte, wohin sie sich auf uns unbekannten Wegen seltsam verirrt hat. Die Handschrift enthält dreizehn äsopische Fabeln in erster, sieben in zweiter Niederschrift, dazu eine Vorrede, die Luther wohl 1538 (kaum schon auf der Feste Koburg 1530) geschrieben haben mag. Hier ist die praktische Absicht des Werks ganz unverhüllt ausgesprochen: „Von äußerlichem Leben in der Welt zu reden, wüßte ich außer der Heiligen Schrift nicht viel Bücher, die diesem überlegen sein sollten, so man Nutz, Kunst und Weisheit, und nicht hochbedechtig Geschrei wollt ansehen. Denn man darin unter

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schlechten Worten viel allerfeineste Lehre, Warnung und Unterricht findet (wer sie zu brauchen weiß), wie man sich im Haushalten, in und gegen der Oberkeit und Untertanen schicken soll, auf das man klüglich und friedlich unter den bösen Leuten in der falschen, argen Welt leben müge." Luther gibt auch sogleich Anwendungen, wie er die Fabeln verstanden wissen will: ein Hausvater möge sie lustig und nützlich über Tisch mit seinen Kindern und seinem Gesinde treiben, möge z.B. die Fabel vom Hund mit dem Stück Fleisch erzählen: wie es der dumme Hund im Maul über die Brücke trägt, wie er das Spiegelbild des Fleisches im Wasser sieht, gierig danach schnappt und darüber beides verliert, Schein und Wirklichkeit. Das soll dann ein kluger Hausvater auf Knecht und Magd anwenden, denen zu wohl ist und die aus Mutwillen den Dienst gern wechseln.

So hat sich Luther seinen „lustigen und lieblichen, doch dabei ehrbarlichen Äsop" gedacht; ihn möchte er an Stelle der alten Ausgabe von Sebastian Brant setzen, die durch unsaubere Stücke nach Poggio entstellt war. Überraschend ist, wie sorgsam der Vielbeschäftigte an dem Werkchen geglättet und gefeilt hat: erst damit hat er es so hoch über andere, gleichzeitige Fabelbearbeitungen gehoben. Natürlich ist nun längst nicht alles, was Luther über die Fabel gedacht und gearbeitet hat, in dem mageren Manuskriptlein enthalten. Vieles, was verloren sein mag, hat der Reiche aus dem Ärmel geschüttelt; vieles Fabelgut ist in seinen sonstigen Schriften, namentlich in den Predigten, verstreut; vieles ließe sich aus den Tischreden zusammenstellen. Nur zufällig ist bei Luthers erstem Biographen Johann Mathesius die vom Reformator ersonnene Fabel vom Krebs und der Schlange gerettet, die er einst seinem Sohn Hänsichen bei Tisch erzählt hat: wie die Schlange ihr Lebtag krumme Wege geht und auf keine Weise fertig bringt, gerade zu sein oder zu laufen; wie sie das erste Mal gerade lag, war sie bei näherem Zusehen tot, und darüber stellt der ehrliche Krebs, der „auf viel Beinen übel zu Fuß war," köstliche Betrachtungen an.

Daß Luther diese schlichten Fabeln so hoch geschätzt hat, ist für ihn im tiefsten Sinn bezeichnend. Das Mutterwitzige

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darin zieht ihn an, wie überall, wo er es findet: im Buch Jesus Sirach wie in der älteren deutschen Schwank- und Volksliteratur. Den niederdeutschen Reineke Voß brachte er gelegentlich mit zu Tisch und las über dem Essen darin. Er kennt die „Lieder von Dietrich von Bern und anderen Riesen," gedenkt des Eulenspiegels und des Pfaffen von Kalenberg, bringt Witze des derben Volksbuchs von Salomon und Markolf in Schriften und Tischreden an, nennt sich auch selbst bei jener Begegnung mit den Schweizer Studenten im Bären zu Jena 1522 Markolf. Überall ist es der Mutterwitz, der Luther anzieht, weil er seiner eignen Art entspricht und sein ganzes Werk durchzieht. Luther ist zu allem andern auch der größte Humorist seiner Zeit. Die Tischreden sind ein lebendiges Zeugnis dafür, wie er die Unterhaltung würzte und wie er zu erzählen verstand. Da ist der Schwank von Hans Pfriem, dem Fuhrmann, der im Paradies nur bleiben darf, wenn er seine irdische Besserwisserei ablegt und sich alles Dreinredens enthält. Er sieht Paradiesbewohner, die Wasser mit einem Krug ohne Boden schöpfen. Es reizt ihn gewaltig, sie um ihre Torheit zu tadeln, aber er schweigt. Dann sieht er zwei Zimmerleute, die kommen nicht durchs Tor, weil sie den Balken quer tragen—auch hier gewinnt sich Hans Pfriem ab, zu schweigen. Aber wie er einen Wagen sehen muß, der nicht vom Fleck rückt, weil zwei Pferde vorn, zwei hinten angespannt sind, leidet es ihn nicht länger, denn das greift in sein Fach. Er fängt an zu schelten und hat damit sein Recht aufs Paradies verscherzt. Beim Hinausgehen brummt er noch den heiligen Petrus an: „Ich muß hinaus und hab dennoch unsern Herrgott nicht verleugnet, wie du." Paulus schilt er einen Verfolger Christi und Moses einen ungläubigen Juden. Aber als ihm beim Abstieg die unschuldigen Kindlein von Bethlehem begegnen, da schüttelt er ihnen gutherzig die Birnen, und dafür darf er doch wieder im Paradies bleiben, hält aber forthin wohlweislich den Mund. Hinzu fügt Luther die Lehre „Contra sciolos et criticos": „Gott will sein Regiment also führen, daß ihm niemands soll einsprechen, und die Welt kanns doch nit lassen." Der hübsche Stoff hat sich weiterhin fruchtbar erwiesen: Luther hat ihn in einer Predigt über 1. Kor. 15 wieder verwandt, daraus kannte ihn der verdiente Rektor der

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Fürstenschule zu Grimma, Martin Hayneccius, der 1[illegible] lateinische Schulkomödie Hansoframea daraus in Terenzische Form brachte. Aus Hayneccius wieder kannten die Brüder Grimm den Schwank und erzählten ihn im 178. ihrer Kinder- und Hausmärchen von neuem.

Im September 1528 ließ Luther, schwer gereizt durch boshafte Angriffe, die zwei junge Leipziger Magister auf seine Ehe richteten, seine Fabel vom Löwen und Esel drucken. Hier zeigt er keck und kräftig, mit guter Laune und grimmigem Witz, wie falsch die Deutschen gehandelt haben, daß sie sich unter die römische Herrschaft gebeugt haben, statt treu und unbeirrt an ihrem angestammten Königtum festzuhalten. Luther erzählt, wie sich die Tiere nach dem Tod des alten Löwen vom Fuchs beschwatzen lassen, den Esel zum König zu wählen, weil der nicht stolz und tyrannisch sei, andere Tiere auch etwas gelten lasse, sich an geringer Ehre und einem mäßigen Zins genügen lasse und als gottgewolltes Zeichen seiner Bestimmung ein Kreuz auf dem Rücken trage. Der junge Löwe weicht betrübt aus dem Lande, bis seine Anhänger den Reichstag bestimmen, einen Wettkampf zwischen Löwen und Esel entscheiden zu lassen. Zuerst springen die beiden über einen Bach: der Löwe „sprang überhin, wie ein Vogel überhin flöge," der Esel dagegen „platzsch mitten in den Bach." Aber ein Fischlein verfängt sich in seinem langen Ohr, und wie er es am Ufer herausschüttelt, deutet der Fuchs den Fang als überlegene Wundertat. Sodann wird bestimmt, König solle sein, wer das schnellste Tier fängt. Der Löwe erjagt einen Hasen, der Esel legt sich faul in die Sonne, aber er erschnappt mit dem offnen Maul einen Raben, der ihn für ein Aas hält. Endlich soll ein Wettlauf entscheiden. Der Esel denkt: „Der Lewe günnet mir doch der Ehre nicht," der Löwe jagt über den Berg zur Mühle und sieht davor den Mülleresel stehen, rennt zurück und findet seinen Esel am alten Fleck, und so zum drittenmal. So blieb der Esel König und regiert sein Geschlecht bis auf diesen Tag gewaltiglich—unter den Tieren!

Ernst Thiele hat diese einzige Fabel, die neben der von Krebs und Schlange Luthers eigene Erfindung ist (Motive daraus erinnern ja freilich an den Reineke Voß, und auch das

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Märchen vom Swinegel leuchtet beim Wettlauf erkennbar hindurch) in der Weimarischen Lutherausgabe 26, 534 ff. in ihrer alten Reinheit hergestellt. Er hat sie auch seiner neuen Ausgabe von Luthers Fabeln beigefügt, und damit darf man hoffen, daß diese lange vergessene, beste Prosadichtung des großen Humoristen von Wittenberg nach Gebühr bekannt werden möge. Diese Prosa von 1528 ist der verheißungsvolle Vorklang des deutschen Äsop, den Luther zwei Jahre später auf der Feste Koburg begann und an den man seit 1888 zuerst zu denken pflegt, wenn von Luthers Fabeldichtung die Rede ist.

GIESSEN (HESSEN)

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EINE UNBEKANNTE DRUCKAUSGABE DER *PRAECEPTA MORUM* DES ERASMUS ALBERUS*

VON OTTO CLEMEN

ÜBER die Sammlung von Sittensprüchen, die Erasmus Alberus zum ersten Male im März 1536 unter dem Titel *Utilissima praecepta morum* herausgebracht hat, hat Otto Jensch im *20. Jahresbericht über das (städtische) König Wilhelms-Gymnasium zu Magdeburg* 1906, eine besondere Abhandlung veröffentlicht. Er bedauert es, daß von dieser Spruchsammlung noch nicht ein ebensolcher Neudruck erschienen sei, wie ihn von den Fabeln Albers 1892 W. Braune besorgt hat. Dieser mit Recht ersehnte Neudruck wird hoffentlich nicht mehr lange auf sich warten lassen. Vorher muß aber das Material, das ihm zu Grunde zu legen sein wird, vervollständigt werden. Sowohl Jensch (S. 5 f.) wie vor ihm Schnorr von Carolsfeld (*Erasmus Alberus. Ein biographischer Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformationszeit*, Dresden 1893, S. 223 f.) kennen nur drei noch bei Lebzeiten des Verfassers herausgekommene Druckausgaben der *Praecepta morum*, die schon erwähnte Erstausgabe vom März 1536, die von Valentin Kobian in Hagenau gedruckt worden ist, ferner eine bei Christian Egenolf in Frankfurt a.M. erschienene o.J., die nach Schnorr (S. 223) aus dem Jahre 1537, nach Jensch (S. 4) frühestens „aus diesem Jahre" stammt, und eine Ausgabe mit der Jahreszahl 1548 am Ende aus derselben Presse. Zwischen der ersten und der 2. Ausgabe ist nun aber eine bisher unbeachtete einzuschieben, die 1537 von Kobian gedruckt worden ist.

Das wohl einzig noch erhaltene Exemplar hat sich in einem der kostbaren Oktavsammelbände der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg in Preußen versteckt gehalten, die ursprünglich zu der Bibliothek des Joh. Poliander gehört haben und nach dessen am 29. April 1541 eingetretenen Tode seinem Testament zufolge der Altstadt Königsberg zugefallen sind (C. Krollmann, *Ge-*

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schichte der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg, Königsberg Pr. 1929, S. 5 ff.). Da der Band lauter Seltenheiten enthält, so sei der Inhalt hier kurz verzeichnet:

1. Tesseradecas consolatoria pro laborantibus et onerantibus D. Martini Lutheri. Witembergae 1535. Am Ende: Wittembergae per Josephum Klug 1536. Weimarer Lutherausgabe, 6, 101 f.

2. De restitutione regni Israëlitici contra omnium seculorum chiliastos, in primis tamen contra Miliarios Monasterienses, disputatio Cellae Saxonum celebranda, per Urbanum Rhegium . . . 1536. Uhlhorn, *Urbanus Rhegius*, Elberfeld 1861, S. 368, Anm. 13.

3. Peregrinatio ad terram sanctam ex Bernhardo Breitenbach ecclesiae Maguntinae decano et camerario. Wittembergae, Nicolaus Schirlentz 1536. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* 3, 285 ff. Diese Ausgabe fehlt bei Franz Falk, *Die Druckkunst im Dienste der Kirche, zunächst in Deutschland, bis zum Jahre* 1520, Köln 1879, S. 104 f.

4. Catechismus puerilis, id est institutio puerorum in sacris. Philippus Melanchthon ad pueros . . . Vitebergae 1536 (per Georgium Rhaw). *Corpus Reformatorum* 23, 103/4.

5. Loci in evangelia cum dominicalia tum de sanctis, ut vocant, ita adnotati, ut vel commentarii vice esse possint, nunc primum autore Antonio Corvino publicati . . . 1536. (Vitebergae per Petrum Seitz.) *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 5, 155. No. 58.

6. Conciunculae quaedam D. Martini Lutheri amico cuidam praescriptae 1537. (Wittembergae excudebat Nicolaus Schirlentz.) Weimarer Lutherausgabe 45, XXXIX.

7. Epistolae quaedam piissimae et eruditissimae Johannis Hus, quae solae satis declarant papistarum pietates esse Satanae furias. Addita est D. Martini Lutheri praefatio. Vitembergae ex officina Joannis Lufft 1537. Weimarer Ausgabe 50, 123.

8. Disputatio Joannis Hus, quam absolvit, dum ageret Constantiae, priusquam in carcerem coniceretur . . . Vitebergae 1537 (excudebat Nicolaus Schirlentz). W.A. 50, 18.

9. Pasquilli de concilio Mantuano iudicium. Querimonia papistarum ad legatum pontificium in comiciis Schmalcaldi-

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anis . . . 1537 (angeblich: Romae in porta angelorum). P. Tschackert, *Analecta Corviniana*, Leipzig 1910, S. 26 ff.

10. Oratio de ingratitudine cuculi, habita in promotione magistrorum a decano Magistro Ambrosio Iuterbocensi. Vitebergae 1537. O. Clemen, *Studien zu Melanchthons Reden und Gedichten*, Leipzig 1913, S. 10 f.

11. s. u.

12. (Joh. Brinkmann) Ein Sermon von Abendmal des Herrn, gepredigt zu Königszberg yn Preußen Anno 1536.

13. Ein Sendbrieff an das gantz Convent des Jungfrauen Closters Wynhusen, wider das unchristlich gesang Salve Regina, Durch D. Urbanum Rhegium . . . (Wittenberg, Joseph Klug 1537). Uhlhorn, S. 364, Anm. 30.

14. Methodus, quid in evangeliis quaerendum et expectandum sit, docens per M. Luth. Quid inter mundi et Christi iustitiam intersit, per Phi. Melan. vernacula lingua prius aeditum, nuper autem ab alio quedam Latinitate donatum . . . Supplementa Melanchthoniana I, 1. S. xLviiiD.

Nr. 11 in diesem Bande trägt den Titel: Utilissima praecepta morum ex variis autoribus collecta et Germanicis rhythmis reddita ab Erasmo Albero in gratiam puerorum, Joanni D. Martini Lutheri filio nuncupata. Haganoae ex officina Valentini Kobiani. 1537.

Es ist eine 2. Druckausgabe Kobians von Albers Praecepta morum. Sie ist der ersten gegenüber bedeutend erweitert, wie sich schon in der Blätterzahl ausdrückt: 44 gegen 16. Die Ausgabe Egenolfs o. J., die bisher als die 2. galt und nunmehr an die dritte Stelle rückt, ist wieder gegen unsere Ausgabe stark vermehrt, vor allem durch eine zweite Vorrede, überschrieben: Pueris bonarum literarum per Germaniam studiosis, die angehängte lateinische Elementargrammatik mit besonderer Vorrede an die Gebrüder Philipp u. Friedrich von Reiffenburg, und vielfach verändert.

Daß diese Ausgabe noch 1537, also in demselben Jahre wie die neu ans Tageslicht gekommene, erschienen sein sollte (obgleich die Vorrede zur Grammatik vom 24. Sept. 1537 datiert ist) wird ganz unwahrscheinlich; sie wird vielmehr in die Jahre 1540–43 zu setzen sein, auf die sich die Druckwerkchen

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verteilen, mit denen die Ausgabe in einem Oktavsammelband der Zwickauer Ratschulbibliothek zusammengebunden ist.

Unsere Ausgabe enthält wie die 1. nur die Widmungsvorrede an Luthers Sohn Hans. Er war beim Erscheinen der 1. Ausgabe im März 1536 noch nicht 10 Jahre alt. Wenn Alber ihm seine *Praecepta morum* dedizierte, so tat er's wohl in der Erwartung, daß der Knabe allmählich in das Verständnis der Sprüche hineinwachsen würde. Man muß jedoch beachten, daß Hans Luther schon am 8. Juni 1533 an der Wittenberger Universität immatrikuliert wurde und daß er sicher damals schon Lateinisch konnte. In demselben Jahre 1533 hat der Reformator für sein Söhnchen („et per te omnibus liberis meis et sanctae ecclesiae Christi") eine Warnung vor Erasmus niedergeschrieben (Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel* 9, 368). Der Knabe war offenbar früh reif.

Auffälliger ist, daß die ganze Spruchsammlung auf dem Titel als für die Schuljugend bestimmt bezeichnet wird. Nach seinem letzten Biographen (Emil Körner, *Erasmus Alberus. Das Kämpferleben eines Gottesgelehrten aus Luthers Schule*, Leipzig 1910, S. 19) hat ja auch Alber die *Praecepta morum* in der Hauptsache schon als Schulmeister in Ursel (1522–27), nicht erst als Pfarrer in Sprendlingen in der Wetterau (1528–1539)—die Vorrede an Hans Luther ist von dort datiert—verfaßt. Wie passen nun aber in ein Schulbuch Sprüche wie:

Wann du wilt nemen zu der Ehe
Eyn weyb, das dirs nit übel ghe,
So seh dich für bei deinem leib,
Gesell dich nit zu eynem weib
Die nit geneygt ist großer ehrn,
Sie möcht dir sunst kinder gebern
Nach jrer bösen art, als dann
Werstu fürwar eyn armer Mann . . .
Wann dir das Weib ein liedlin singt
Vom reichthumb, den sie zu dir bringt,
Das klingt dir in deinen ohrn also,
Das du des weibs wirst nimmer fro . . .
Die best gab, die eym bringt das weib,
Ist, wenn sie bringt eyn keuschen leib.

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Und doch darf uns das nicht weiter wundern. Man nahm damals in Schulbüchern noch wenig Rücksicht auf die Entwicklungsstufe, auf der sich die Kinder befanden. Man sah in ihnen nicht Kinder, sondern angehende Erwachsene. Auch Luthers Kleiner Katechismus ist ja durchaus nicht „kindertümlich."

Während Jensch über die Anlage der Spruchsammlung, über das Verhältnis der deutschen Sprüche zu den lateinischen Vorlagen, über die Sprache und die metrische Form und über die Quellen der *Praecepta morum* aufs gründlichste gehandelt hat, befriedigt das, was er über den Gedankengehalt der Sprüche bemerkt, nicht so ganz. Vor allem ist eins zu betonen. In der in der 3. Ausgabe hinzugekommenen zweiten „pueris bonarum literarum per Germaniam studiosis" gewidmeten Vorrede verteidigt sich Alber gegen den Vorwurf, daß er in seinen deutschen Sprüchen bei „Übersetzung antiker Aussprüche in diese christlichen Inhalt eingetragen habe" (ita ut ipsi ethnici scriptores nostro, hoc est Christianorum more docuisse videri possint).

Mit größerem Rechte könnte man gegen Alber den Vorwurf erheben, daß er dadurch, daß er häufiger an antike Autoren als an die Bibel sich anschließt (seine Hauptquelle sind die Distichen Catos), die christliche Sittlichkeit ethnisiert hat. Wenn es auch an Hinweisen auf die Vergänglichkeit und Eitelkeit alles Irdischen, auf Mahnungen, Gott über alle Dinge zu fürchten, zu lieben und auf ihn zu vertrauen, an Mahnungen zu Selbstzucht und Enthaltsamkeit, Demut, Geduld und Opferwilligkeit nicht fehlt, so ist doch der großartige und heroische asketische Grundzug der christlichen Sittlichkeit arg verflüchtigt; es ist letztlich doch eine recht seichte, hausbackene und spießbürgerliche Allerwelts-Moral, die Alber predigt.

ZWICKAU IN SACHSEN

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DER SENTIMENTALISCHE FAUST

Von PHILIPP SEIBERTH

ES ist für die Absicht, den lebensphilosophischen Sinn der Faustdichtung zu prüfen, wesentlich, zunächst einmal kurz und bündig die Anschauungsweise anzusagen, auf welcher mein Versuch einer Berichtigung der gegenwärtig geltenden Auslegung ruht. Es handelt sich hier selbstredend um den Bestimmungsgrund der Wertidee. Dieser ergibt sich für den Menschen, der mit dem Denken der neuen Zeit wirklich ganz mitgeht—also nicht durch hinterweltliche Vorstellungen behindert ist—aus dem in umfassendem Sinne biologischen Prinzip der Lebensanschauung, welches geradeswegs zu einem superstitionslosen Naturalismus hinleitet. Die Grundidee dieser natürlichen Lebensvorstellung ist die einer Ausführung des uns angehenden irdischen Lebens in Übereinstimmung mit den Gesetzen der uns gegebenen Daseinsform. Das diesem Lebensbegriff zugehörige Streben geht auf Erhaltung und Verbesserung des individuellen und sozialen Daseins, hat einzig die Wohlfahrt des Erdenlebens zum Ziel und findet genugsame Beschäftigung im realen Sein, ohne auf Unwirkliches, Irrationales überzugreifen. Aus dem Gesichtspunkt einer vernünftigen, bejahenden Lebensansicht betrachtet, muß ja der Faust ganz anders aussehen, als im Spiegel der Ideologie einer dem Irrationalen innig verbundenen Romantik. Es ist wirklich höchste Zeit, mit der auf falschem Geleise fahrenden, unhaltbaren Apotheose des romantischen Abenteurers Faust entschieden zu brechen, wenn nicht die Literatur der Auslegung zuletzt der Lächerlichkeit verfallen soll. Es braucht wohl nicht gesagt zu werden, daß es diese als Darstellung der Seelenpathologie so einzig wertvolle Dichtung gewiß nicht nötig hat, in ein Erlösungsdrama umgedeutet zu werden, um als groß dazustehen. Es handelt sich darum, dieses monumentale Gedicht richtig zu verstehen; von seiner Größe wird es dadurch nichts verlieren.

Die Tragödie des Erkennens

Das erste Hauptstück der herrschenden Faustlehre ist die Vorstellung von dem reinen, tiefen Wahrheitsstreben des For-

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schers Faust, der als Repräsentant des forschenden Geistes, als Urbild des heißen Bemühens um die letzte Erkenntnis vom Wesen der Welt in der ganzen europäischen Literatur nicht seinesgleichen hat. Goethe selbst will ihn in den einschlägigen Anfangsbildern der Dichtung unzweifelhaft so verstanden wissen, und diese Absicht ist in der Folge durch die Ausleger mit Beharrlichkeit bis zur absoluten Symbolgeltung gesteigert worden. Das jüngste und wohl auch lehrreichste Beispiel für diese Auffassung liefert Oswald Spengler in seinem Buch vom Untergang des Abendlandes. Hier erscheint der Name Faust in dem schon früher üblichen Stichwort vom „faustischen Menschentum" zur höchsten Potenz symbolhafter Anwendung erhoben. Die zum Idol gewordene Idee übt eine so starke Suggestivwirkung aus, daß selbst kritische, freidenkende Köpfe ihr erliegen. So spricht z.B. auch der Hyperkritiker Fritz Mauthner in seinem philosophischen Wörterbuch von Descartes als einem „Mann von wahrhaft faustischem Wissensdrang." „Faustisch" zieht sich als Symbolwort für das dynamische Fühlen, Denken und Tun durch den ganzen ersten Band des Spenglerschen Werkes hin. Wir hören von dem leidenschaftlichen faustischen Hange zum Unendlichen, vom faustischen Menschen, Geist, Willen, Gewissen, Weltgefühl, Tiefenerlebnis, von faustischer Seele, Kultur, Intelligenz, Tätigkeit, Sorge, Philosophie, Naturerkenntnis, Religion; auch von faustischer Landschaft, Konvergenzperspektive, u.s.w.

Wenn man den Spenglerschen Wortgebrauch dessen entkleidet, was daran dunkel, mystosophisch ist, so bleibt als Begriff wesentlich das Bewegende, Dynamische. „Faustisch" soll also den besten Teil alles dessen bezeichnen, was das abendländische Denken und Tun hervorgebracht hat. Nicht Sinn und Wert der Aufstellungen Spenglers über die Physiognomik der Kulturen, sondern einzig die Benennung „faustisch" soll hier als Ausgangspunkt für meine Ausführungen dienen. Indem Spengler die grossen Denker und Tatmenschen des Abendlandes als „faustische Menschen" anspricht, folgt er unkritisch der allgemeinen Vorstellungsweise, welche in Faust den großen, ehrlichen, wenngleich unglücklichen Geisteshelden sieht; man kann wohl sagen, daß diese Unvorsichtigkeit mit dem Gesamtcharakter dieses Tendenzbuches ganz im Einklang steht.

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Faust kann auf Grund dessen, was von seinem Charakter und Lebenslauf in der goethischen Faustdichtung zu lesen ist, keineswegs als Heros des Denkens, der Tat und des Gewissens gelten; oder mit anderen Worten: die hohe Meinung von seinem geistigen, sittlichen und praktischen Streben läßt sich nicht aus dem Inhalt der Dichtung begründen, sondern entspringt einer von Anfang an verfehlten Tendenz, diesen Charakter trotz aller Schwierigkeiten zu idealisieren. Der Faust Goethes ist ja in der Tat nicht nur ein ganz anderer als der Held der verschönernden Exegese, sonderen geradezu das Gegenteil von einem geistigen Höhenmenschen: ein Pseudophilosoph und Abtrünniger des Wissens, ein Abenteurer ohne sittlichen Halt, ein förderlichem Tun abgewandter Sensationssucher und egoistischer Machtstreber.

Betrachten wir zunächst den Wahrheitssucher. Was wir an zuverlässigem Wissen besitzen, verdanken wir Männern, die unentwegt in unablässigem Ringen ihr Ziel verfolgten und nicht etwa solchen, die aus Ekel vor dem Wissen oder in falscher Auffassung der Wissensziele zu Apostaten des Erkenntnisstrebens selber wurden. Für Faust liegt der Fall ganz ausserordentlich klar. „Des Denkens Faden ist zerrissen, mir ekelt lange vor allem Wissen," sagen nie die Kepler, Newton, Wundt, sondern der Überdruß aus Unvermögen spricht so. Den Faust, der überhaupt nicht in dem Bereich realer erforschbarer Dinge arbeitet, sondern wähnt, das Unerforschliche erforschen zu müssen, werden wir heutzutage nicht mehr den Intelligenzen erster Klasse zuzählen, sondern den unklar spintisierenden Köpfen, die philosophische Erkenntnisse aus der Luft greifen wollen. In Wirklichkeit, und ganz offensichtlich, ist Faust ein dem Wahrheitsstreben innerlich Fremder, der nicht durch inneren Beruf zur Wissenschaft kam, und dessen Ausscheiden aus der akademischen Welt nur den äusseren Akt seiner Nichtzugehörigkeit bezeichnet. Wenn Rang und Verdienst des Forschers in realen Leistungen bestehen, durch welche sich die Echtheit der Eignung bewährt, so kommt Faust als Exemplar dieser Gattung gar nicht in Betracht. Er erkennt das auch selber vollkommen klar; aus seinem eigenen Munde vernehmen wir es nochmals, daß „sein Busen vom Wissensdrang geheilt"

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ist. Er leidet zwar an der krankhaften Illusion, daß alles Wissen blosse Chimäre sei. Das ändert aber nichts an der Tatsache, daß er aus Mangel an den erforderlichen geistigen Qualitäten versagt; seine Untauglichkeit wird vielmehr eben dadurch endgültig bestätigt. Man wird also mit gutem Recht feststellen, daß es nicht angängig ist, eben diesen Faust sozusagen als obersten Heiligen des wissenden Geistes zu kanonisieren. Es ist sehr bedeutsam, daß das Faustdrama mit der intellektuellen Bankerotterklärung des Helden anfängt. Seine ganze unstäte Laufbahn abenteuernden, unersprießlichen Tuns—„schwerer Verirrungen" sagt Goethe—ist durch das Versagen seiner Verstandesenergie und die Zuflucht zu unreellem Zauberwesen vorgebildet. Psychologisch bekundet sich der Wesenszug Fausts schon hier als Charakter der ruhelosen Unbefriedigung, tiefsten, seelischen Unbehagens.

Das Ethos

Was Faust in Wirklichkeit ist und will, tritt auch schon eingangs klar hervor. In dem Maße, wie er sich bewußt wird, daß das Wissensstreben ihm nicht gemäß ist, kommt auch sein wahres Wesen und Wollen zum Durchbruch als die lange zurückgedämmte Gier sich auszuleben—als die heiße Angst, über dem einsiedlerischen Studium das Leben zu versäumen. Er spricht es in mehr als einem Satze offen aus, wohin der dunkle Drang ihn treibt, besonders deutlich in den Versen:

> Laß in den Tiefen der Sinnlichkeit
> Uns glühende Leidenschaften stillen!
> . . . . . .
> Stürzen wir uns in das Rauschen der Zeit,
> Ins Rollen der Begebenheit!

Man lese sehr aufmerksam den folgenden hysterischen Ausbruch:

> Du hörest ja, von Freud ist nicht die Rede.
> Dem Taumel weih ich mich, dem schmerzlichsten Genuß,
> Verliebtem Haß, erquickendem Verdruß.
> Mein Busen, der vom Wissensdrang geheilt ist,
> Soll keinen Schmerzen künftig sich verschließen,
> Und was der ganzen Menschheit zugeteilt ist,

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Will ich in meinem innern Selbst genießen,
Mit meinem Geist das Höchst' und Tiefste greifen,
Ihr Wohl und Weh auf meinen Busen häufen,
Und so mein eigen Selbst zu ihrem Selbst erweitern
Und, wie sie selbst, am End auch ich zerscheitern.

Hier verrät sich das seelische Grundwesen Fausts in dem hemmungslosen Hervorbrechen der lange zurückgedrängten Begierde nach Sinnengenuß und Weltleben. Der Ausdruck ist gleichzeitig so ausschweifend und paradox, daß man den Eindruck eines völlig ausgerenkten Seelenapparats, einer ungesunden Triebverkehrung gewinnen muß. Nichts kann die seelische Leere und geistige Nichtigkeit eines Menschen schlagender dartun, als die Sucht nach Betäubung durch Ausschweifung und Abenteuer. Indem nun Faust außerdem noch die Regie seines Lebensplanes einem ganz niedrigen, nichtswürdigen Gesellen überträgt, der von teuflischen Attributen wenigstens zwei sicher besitzt: Gemeinheit und Gefühllosigkeit, begibt er sich durch dieses Verhältnis der sittlichen Selbstverantwortlichkeit, die man als Mindestforderung normgerechten Menschentums voraussetzt und steigt somit auf die unterste Stufe des Verhaltens herab, das nicht mehr als ethisches bezeichnet werden kann. Dieser Übertritt auf das abschüssige Terrain des richtungslosen, skrupellosen Glücksrittertums ist nur auf Grund der Voraussetzung verstehbar, daß einer von Natur unsolid beschaffen ist. Es kann demnach nicht die Rede davon sein, daß Mephistopheles einen guten Menschen zu verderben trachte; er hilft Faust nur auf dem Wege, den dieser durch die Prädestination seiner eigenen Natur zu gehen genötigt ist.

Mephistopheles

Mephistopheles ist ein kaltblütiger Cyniker, der als überzeugter Nihilist seine Aufgabe in der Verneinung und Vernichtung des Lebens erblickt. Die Quintessenz des theoretischen und praktischen Nihilismus ist wohl nirgends schärfer und prägnanter zusammengefaßt als in der Selbstcharakteristik:

Ich bin der Geist, der stets verneint!
Und das mit Recht; denn alles, was entsteht,
Ist wert, daß es zu Grunde geht;

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Drum besser wärs, daß nichts entstünde.
So ist denn alles, was ihr Sünde,
Zerstörung, kurz das Böse nennt,
Mein eigentliches Element.

Mephistopheles faßt sich unter anderem auch als Befreier des Menschengeschlechts auf, welches durch nichts wirksamer von seinen Übeln zu erlösen ist, als durch völlige Vernichtung, —eine Lehre, die vom Standpunkt der rein formalen Logik immerhin etwas für sich hat. Natürlich darf man sich durch die Einkleidung des Menschen Mephistopheles in das Teufelskostüm nicht verführen lassen zu glauben, er sei von anderer als Menschenart. Er ist der Typ des verschlagenen, ganz moralfreien Kakophilen, der uns im Leben vielfach entgegentritt als der gefühllose Selbstling, der sich gegen alles verhärtet, was nicht seinem Interesse dient. Faust ist nervös, Mephistopheles kalt, zähe Egoisten sind sie beide. Wenn wir uns diesen Fall ins Realmenschliche übersetzen, so ergibt sich ungefähr Folgendes: der durchtriebene Philosoph der Nichtigkeitslehre und Wüstling, Mephistopheles, erbietet sich, den wankenden Schein-Übermenschen, Faust, seine Straße zu führen, die ja auch die Fausts ist, ohne das dieser es wahr haben will. Natürlich würde Faust, dem Gesetz seines Wesens gemäß, auch ohne die Mithilfe dieses Cicerone auf der schiefen Ebene der Schlimmpraxis fortgeschritten sein—„und hätt' er sich auch nicht dem Teufel übergeben, er müßte doch zu Grunde gehn."

Es sei übrigens daran erinnert, daß Goethe in der Bemäntelung oder Anerkennung des mephistophelischen Standpunkts recht weit geht, so daß Mephistopheles immer mehr als prinzipiell gerechtfertigte Person erscheint; Faust gegenüber ist er oft der Vernünftige gegenüber dem Unvernünftigen. Es ist die unverkennbare Tendenz, dem Repräsentanten des Diabolischen einen so breiten und günstigen Spielraum zu lassen, was dieser Dichtung den ominösen, verruchten Zug aufprägt, den Höllenschein und Schwefelgeruch gibt.

„Im Anfang war die Tat"

Wenn die Ausleger des *Faust* und ganz besonders der Geschichtsphilosoph Spengler Faust als den vorbildlichen Tat-

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menschen so besonders hoch erheben—„das Grundelement des faustischen Weltbildes ist die Tat" (Spengler)—so wird gewiß an Tat im legitimen Sinn von förderlicher, aufbauender Tätigkeit zu denken sein. Faust als Genius der Tat ist aber ebenso illusorisch wie Faust als Heros des geistigen Strebens. Ein paar Sätze: Im Anfang war die Tat—Die Tat ist alles, nichts der Ruhm—Nur rastlos betätigt sich der Mann—Du regst und rührst ein kräftiges Beschließen, zum höchsten Dasein immer fort zu streben—ist eigentlich alles, worauf sich der Anspruch auf das Tatmenschentum Fausts gründet. Anstatt den Tatgedanken ernsthaft festzuhalten, verliert er sich an nutzloses, unsolides Treiben. Erst der Faust des zweiten Teiles könnte überhaupt unter dem Begriff der Tat etwa in Betracht kommen. Was wir aber da von Taten sehen, ist äußerst dürftig, fragwürdig und wenig empfehlend. Überall Zauberkunst, Magie. „Könnt ich Magie von meinem Pfad entfernen, die Zaubersprüche ganz und gar verlernen," spricht der Hundertjährige. Das ist doch nun gerade das Gegenteil von dem, was man unter Tat versteht, gewiß auch das Gegenteil von dem, was Spengler darunter versteht. Der Papiergeldschwindel, das Reich der Mütter, der Kriegszauberschwindel, die Phantasmagorien der klassischen Walpurgisnacht und der Helena sind nicht Dinge, denen wir den werthaften Tatcharakter zubilligen können. Faust sieht die Nutzlosigkeit seines Lebens selber ein:

> Ich bin nur durch die Welt gerannt,
> Ein jed' Gelüst ergriff ich bei den Haaren,
> Was nicht genügte, ließ ich fahren,
> Was mir entwischte, ließ ich ziehn.

So spricht der Hundertjährige und zieht damit das Fazit seines Lebens. In dieser Erkenntnis liegt allerdings ein tüchtiges Stück Katharsis: Läuterung, und es ist tragisch, daß der Überalte versucht, seinem verfehlten Leben eine nützliche Leistung anzugliedern. Es ist das Deichunternehmen, welches den Fluch der Vergeblichkeit mildern, aufheben soll. Es liegt gewiß in der guten Absicht ein versöhnendes Moment. In der letzten Stunde seines Lebenstages faßt Faust den Vorsatz zu einem Werk, das einer praktischen Unternehmung ähnlich

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sieht, in Wahrheit ist es ein romantisches, überflüssiges Projekt. Selbst unsere Zeit, die nichts unversucht läßt, hat derartiges noch nicht für nötig befunden; Land ist ja übergenug. Man kann also wohl sagen, daß auch diese letzte Unternehmung Fausts, die einer guten Absicht entsprungen ist, auch den letzten Beweis seines erratischen Geistes liefert. Insofern sie als nützlich vorgestellt wird, ist sie aber inkonsequent; denn sie wächst nicht aus seinem Charakter und seiner bisherigen Lebenspraxis heraus, sondern wird an ein verlorenes, unnützes Leben angehängt, ist somit unüberzeugend, unecht.

Vertreter der strebenden Menschheit

Man wird aus dem Voranstehenden ersehen, daß ich nicht imstande bin, Faust den Titel eines repräsentativen, geschweige denn eines vorbildlichen Menschen zuzugestehen. Das Bild von dem Idealisten Faust, das Faustidol der Exegese, ist aber den Deutschen schon so lange vorgehalten und eingeschärft worden, daß es nun unerschütterlich festzustehen scheint. So sagt z.B. selbst F. Th. Vischer: „Faust ist ein Held, der in seinem Streben unverkennbar die Menschheit, und in seinem Schicksal ihre Bestimmung repräsentiert." Es seien hier als Belege für die geltende Anschauung noch ein paar Sätze aus der neueren Faustliteratur angeführt. „Die Grundidee der Dichtung, die man kurz und treffend als das Evangelium der Erlösung des Menschen durch Tätigkeit bezeichnet hat: Faust, das hohe Lied des Optimismus—Faust findet in dem zum Streben nach dem Höchsten umgewandelten Begehren und dem produktiven Schaffen einen ihn erfüllenden Lebensinhalt—Faust erscheint als Repräsentant des Menschen überhaupt" (Pniower). „Mit der Erdgeistbeschwörung und dem Teufelspakte hat der Gottsucher Faust an der Spitze einer neuen Menschheit das tausendjährige Reich des alten Glaubens verlassen und die erste Schwelle eines neuen Gottesreiches, das Reich der Goethezeit, betreten." „Der auf Unendliches gerichtete Idealismus des menschlichen Geistes" in Faust (Korff). Wäre es nicht besser, diese hieratische Schreibweise etwas zu mäßigen und Faust mit anderen als gefärbten Augengläsern zu lesen?

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Die Himmelfahrt

Das große Enigma dieser Dichtung ist der mystische Schluß mit Fausts Einführung in den Himmel, und zwar den Himmel einer Theologie, an den der Dichter selbst nicht glaubte und den Faust kurz vor dem Ende rund als Fiktion abweist: „Tor! wer dorthin die Augen blinzelnd richtet, sich über Wolken seinesgleichen dichtet." Vom Standpunkt der christlichen Heilslehre ist Fausts Rettung vollkommen ausgeschlossen, es sei denn, daß sie vermöge der ganz freien, unorthodoxen Lehre von der „Wiederbringung" bewerkstelligt würde. F. Th. Vischer meint: „Natürlich mußte Faust gerettet werden." Wir müssen von der Erörterung dieser Sache ganz absehen, da weder Goethe noch irgend sonst ein Mensch über diesen Gegenstand etwas Sicheres wissen kann. Es scheint mir, der Dichter hätte über diese gänzlich verborgenen Dinge schweigen sollen und zwar in Übereinstimmung mit seinem eigenen Wort: daß wir „das Unerforschliche schweigend verehren sollen." Was Goethe dazu bewogen hat, diesem sonst ganz unchristlichen Gedicht ein christliches Himmelsfinale anzufügen, ist schwer zu erraten. Der greise Dichter schreibt kurz vor seinem Tode diese mystischen Verse in der Weise alter Hymnologie. Vielleicht hat sich ein Rückstand christlich-religiösen Empfindens des Dreiundachtzigjährigen bemächtigt; oder wollte er mit dieser Himmelfahrt im christlichen Symbolgewand sagen, daß dieser Mensch, wie alle Menschen, durch den Tod vom schweren Lebenstraum erlöst, in das befreiende All oder Nichts zurückkehrt?

Der Sinn der Dichtung

Wie ist es zu verstehen, daß Goethe dies monumentale Drama irregehenden Strebens in lebenslanger Beschäftigung schuf? Die Neigung zu irrationalem, eitlem, verkehrtem Tun ist ein in der bisherigen Menschheit sehr aktuelles Moment. Es lag auch in Goethes Natur der bedrohliche Zug zum Erratisch-Ausschweifenden, der ihm immer wieder zu schaffen machte und ihn in einigen besonders gefährlichen Fällen in die nächste Nähe des geistig-seelischen Ruins brachte. Man denke an Werther und Tasso; aber der bedeutsamste Niederschlag goethischer Seelenpathologie ist der Faust. Obgleich sich Goethe, entsprechend seiner vorwiegend positiven, werteschaffenden

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Wesensart, mit der Darstellung des Verwerflichen, Perversen wenig befaßt hat, so konnte ihn doch—den Dichter der Menschenwelt—die Erfahrung der Anfechtung gesunden Lebenssinnes durch krankhafte, irrationale Willensregungen im eigenen Innern, sowie die mannigfache Wahrnehmung der verderblichen Wirkung solcher Impulse an anderen, unmöglich an dem Problem eines Übels vorbeigehen lassen, welches gerade in seiner Zeit in Europa so mächtig grassierte. Die Hauptzüge des faustischen Charakters und Lebenslaufs erscheinen geradezu als Reflexe der in Goethes eigener Zeit aufs Höchste getriebenen Zügellosigkeiten des Denkens und Willensstrebens. Man denkt an Rousseau, Byron, Napoleon; an die Phantasieexzesse von Sturm und Drang und der Romantik; an die Verstiegenheiten der metaphysischen Spekulation jener Zeit vorab; an die unersättliche Erotomanie Casanovas, den frechen Charlatanismus der Cagliostro und Mesmer. Der Faust der Sage ist gewissermaßen der geistige Vorfahr dieser notorischen Übermenschen. Zu höherer dichterischer Potenz gesteigert, konnte er sich zum Vertreter dieser Gattung eignen. Allerdings scheint sich Goethe über die wahre Natur solchen Unwesens nicht immer ganz klar gewesen zu sein, wie z.B. seine Bewunderung Napoleons und Byrons beweist. Wir dürfen trotzdem im Faust auch den dichterischen Widerschein dieser beiden wahrnehmen. Für sich selbst hatte Goethe zwar früh genug den festen Punkt vernünftiger Mäßigung gefunden. Er mochte es aber als Bedürfnis seiner seelischen Hygiene empfinden, das problematische, negative Streben in konsequenter dramatischer Personifizierung zu vergegenständlichen, um sich so in der lange fortgesetzten Ausseinandersetzung mit den Mächten des Irrationalen einen seelischen Schutzmechanismus zu schaffen.

Abschließend möchte ich bemerken, daß die voranstehenden Ausführungen über das Faustgedicht die große Bedeutung dieses einzigartigen Werkes nicht im geringsten in Abrede stellen wollen; sie wollen vielmehr durch unvoreingenommene, sachliche Erwägung des tatsächlichen Inhalts der Dichtung ein Versuch zur Klarstellung des Faustproblems sein, wobei gewiß noch manches zur besseren Untergründung und vollständigeren Ausführung zu tun bleibt.

University of Texas

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UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF LUDWIG TIECK TO FRIEDRICH VON RAUMER *

CONTRIBUTED BY EDWIN H. ZEYDEL AND PERCY MATENKO

(Concluded)

6

The next letter is apparently the continuation of the preceding.

Geliebter Freund!

Nur wenige Worte heut mit unserer liebenswürdigen Freundinn, die Ihnen von mir und uns allen erzählen kann, die Ihnen auch mein Gedicht für Göthe [46] mittheilen wird. Ich habe der Gley [47] einige Briefchen, auch einen an den Theater-Schulz [47a] mitgegeben, ich denke, Sie können ihr doch vielleicht helfen. Ich bin in Berlin so unbewandert, daß ich wirklich nicht weiß, an wen man sich in solcher Angelegenheit zu wenden hat. Sie werden gewiß am meisten helfen und rathen.—Die Bassewitz war bei ihrer Rückreise nur kurze Zeit bei uns; über die Novelle [48] ist viel verhandelt worden; ich merke, die Lüttichau [49] und ich sehn die Sache aus einem ganz andern Gesichtspunkte als die übrigen gescheidten Menschen, die hier immer Stoff und Form miteinander verwechseln.

Ich möchte weinen, daß die Gley nun Schuld sein wird, daß Sie viel später zu uns kommen, und nur kürzere Zeit hier bleiben können. Elend über Elend! Kommen Sie nur, so bald, bleiben Sie, so lang a l s i m m e r m ö g l i c h. Als

[46] "Prolog zur Aufführung von Goethes Faust an Goethes Geburtstage" (i.e. August 26, 1829). The performance took place the next day. For the poem see Tieck's *Gedichte*, Berlin, 1841, p. 582.

[47] Julie Gley, an actress who later married the actor Rettig. Cf. Hermann von Friesen, *Ludwig Tieck*, I, Wien, 1871, pp. 124, 153 and 188.

[47a] Probably F. A. Schulze (pseudonym Fr. Laun) (1770–1849), a prolific writer of popular novels, with whom Tieck became acquainted in Dresden. Tieck contributed a preface to the edition of his *Gesammelte Schriften* (1843).

[48] Raumer's Novelle *Marie*, written in 1828. Cf. LN II, 64 ff. Tieck expresses high praise for this Novelle in a letter of April 2, 1829 (LB II, 289 ff.).

[49] The wife of the director of the Dresden theatre, and an intimate friend of Tieck and his family.

* Cf. *Germanic Review*, V, 1 (January, 1930).

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Ihr Mani[50] hier war, war ich ernsthaft krank und hätte am liebsten den ganzen Tag im Bett gelegen, darüber habe ich ihn noch um Vergebung zu bitten.

Ihm, Ihnen, der Mutter, der Agnes[51] die herzlichsten Grüße von mir und meinen Hausgenossen.

Dies Blatt ist aber nicht die versprochene Fortsetzung.

L. TIECK.

Dresd.

7

At the Congress of Vienna in 1815 Russia had received all of the former kingdom of Poland, with the exception of Cracow and those portions allotted to Austria and Prussia. Without delay Tsar Alexander gave Russian Poland a constitution. But after the Polish insurrection, which the Russians quelled at Ostrolenka in May, 1831, this constitution was rescinded and Poland became a Russian province. Thereupon Raumer, like Tieck a champion of Polish liberty, published his scathing pamphlet *Polens Untergang* (1832). The work, which reprimanded the Prussian government for its passivity, cost Raumer the royal confirmation of his nomination to the rectorate of the University of Berlin and almost had more serious consequences. In the end, however, he was restored to the king's favor and commissioned to write a history of the relations between Prussia and Poland from 1830 to 1832. Naturally the subject of Poland's subjugation also furnished material for lively discussion in the correspondence of Tieck and Raumer, but Raumer deemed it advisable, in view of his experience with his pamphlet and in deference to the diplomatic relations between Prussia and Russia, not to make public the private utterances of Tieck and himself. Hence he states expressly (LB II, 362) that the letters concerning Poland, written in 1832, could not be published at the time the LB appeared. This explains a gap in the published collection extending from February 3, 1832, to February 20, 1834. Later some of the letters dating from this period, but by no means the more outspoken ones, were included in LN II, 139 ff.

The following letter, or part of a letter, from Tieck, the original of which is in the possession of E. H. Zeydel, is herewith reprinted for the first time. It covers two closely written sides of a quarto sheet. The contents are very interesting and leave no doubt concerning Tieck's attitude on the Polish question.

Geliebtester Freund,

Ich kann Ihnen nicht beschreiben, wie viel ich gelitten habe, seitdem ich in Ihrem Briefe sah, wie leidend Sie waren. Ich kenne diesen Zustand eben gar zu gut, wo man zugleich über-

[50] Hermann, Raumer's son.

[51] Agnes, Raumer's daughter.

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reizt und abgespannt dem Nervenfieber so nahe ist, daß es in jedem Augenblicke ausbrechen kann. Gottlob, daß Sie jezt, wie ich glaube und Sie mir melden, über diese Krise hinweg sind. Nichts so angreifend und zerstörend, als diese Schlaflosigkeiten, an denen man dann leidet. Diese sind so sehr meine Qual, daß ich für jede Nacht guten Schlafes ganz eigen dankbar bin. Ohne Schlaf keine Nahrung, denn es ist die beste, vorzüglich für Gedanken und die ganze Seele. Und wieder meine Andeutung, daß wir nicht wissen, ob im Schlaf, der Passivität, dem Unbewußtsein nicht der eigentliche wahre wache Geistes-Zustand sei, ob Bewußtsein nicht schon ein Verdämmern ist, eine Hemmung. Über diese und damit verbundene Punkte haben wir, so viel ich mich erinnre, noch niemals gesprochen.

Aber, Liebster, auch dieser schnell gearbeitete und so meisterhafte Aufsatz über Pohlen muß Sie, mit den großen Begebenheiten zugleich, tief erschüttert haben. Glaubte ich doch Ihren Styl, Ihre Art schon ganz zu kennen, aber diese Diction, dieser einfache erhabene Unwille des Historikers, hat mich noch ganz neu und eigen bis in das Tiefste hinein bewegt. Ich habe es hier mehrmals ausgesprochen, Niemand in Europa hat für die Pohlen jetzt etwas und so viel getan wie Sie. Denn dies Werk von kleinem Umfange wird als das Zeugnis eines edlen Geistes stehen bleiben, es wird wieder Begeisterung erwecken. Alle, die es hier lasen, sind hingerissen und bewundern den Freisinn des Mannes, der diese Worte so einfach ausgesprochen. Diese herzzerreißende Darstellung der schlechten ariden Politik, an der die Staaten kranken, und die die Revolutionen angeregt, so rein und edel hinmalt. Ich las es vor, konnte vor tiefer Rührung aber kaum zu Ende kommen. Nach einigen Abenden, als mich Fr. v. Lüttich[au] wieder darum ersuchte, lehnte ich es ab, weil mich schon bei der Erinnrung die Thränen überraschten. Ja, mein Freund, ich bewundre auch diese Kühnheit Ihrer Seele, aber ich lobe Sie: das ist die ächte Würde des Historikers. Und müssen Sie nicht Erde umstören? Wegen Ihres großen Werkes über die Hohenstaufen hat Sie der Würgsüchtige einen Papisten gescholten, einen Vergötterer der Feudal-Verhältnisse: wegen Ihres wahren Patriotismus und Königsliebe sind Sie den Rasenden ein Serviler, ein Kammerdiener

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und was nicht Alles; jezt nennt man Sie Aufrührer, Preußenfeind etc. Und keiner sieht (von den Blöden) wie Alles ein und dasselbe Stück, der nehmliche edle Sinn, die wahre, nicht schlaffe Unpartheilichkeit ist. Lassen Sie die Katzenmusik der Zeit nur ruhig verschwirren und Ihre Lyra-Töne klingen dann mit denen der Meister mächtig durch die deutsche Welt in alle Zukunft hinein, wenn noch irgend deutsche Welt übrig bleibt. Ihr lieber Freitag scheint ein kleiner Montag, vielleicht zuweilen ein fetter Dienstag geworden zu sein: es thut ihm Buße nöthig, Ascher-Mittwoch soll er werden in Reue und Buße, denn er verdient Ihre Aufsätze und Reden nicht, und so kann er vielleicht später wieder zum grünen Donnerstag ausblühen, um mit der Gnade, was er ehemals wohl war, wieder ein heiliger Freitag, in schöner Lebensregung und Enthusiasmus für Kunst und Wissenschaft zu werden. Staatsbürger sein—ist denn doch gefährlich: und hier zeigt sich uns einmal wieder die hohe Würde eines ächten Gelehrten in seiner wissenschaftlichen Einheit. Sollen denn die Staatsbürger die schlechten Streiche ihrer Regierungen, die so oft durch Zeit und Umstände zu diesen gezwungen werden, verhehlen oder wegstreiten und die Lügen durch neue Lügen überfirnissen? Sie sollten sie gerade anerkennen und eingestehen, um Redlichkeit mit Klugheit verbinden zu lernen, was denn durchaus die wahre Politik ist. Preußen stand in neuer Zeit so hoch, durch Bürgersinn, Enthusiasmus und Regenten-Tugend, daß es nach meiner Einsicht am meisten gewonnen hätte, wenn es ganz so, wie Sie gesprochen und in diesem Sinne gehandelt hätte. Aber dies Verkleistern, Ableugnen, Ignorieren wird ihm gewiß wieder schaden. Wenn ganz Europa damals etwas Schlechtes that, so kann sich einst eher der einzelne Staat lossagen.

8

In 1839 Raumer, engaged in preparing a second edition of his *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen* (it appeared 1840–1842), undertook another extensive journey to Italy. He informed Tieck of his plans late in 1838, much to the dismay of the latter, who could never bear the intervals of silence which generally marked Raumer's absence from home. Tieck expresses this sentiment in the following letter of December 17, 1838. A dozen lines from it, viz., "Ihre Hohenstaufen sind ein fest beschlossenes . . . der einzelnen großen Gewalten," are printed in slightly modified form in LN II, 178, under the incorrect date of "Juni 1838."

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Geliebter Freund!

Seit lange hat mir nicht etwas einen so schmerzlichen Eindruck gemacht, als Ihr lezter Brief, und die bestimmte Nachricht, daß Sie uns schon wieder, und zwar auf so viel längere Zeit verlassen wollen. Wie kann ich den alten treuen Freund darum schelten, oder nur tadeln? Aber klagen darf ich, und wohl eingestehn, daß ich ihn diesmal nicht begreife, und vermuthen, er sei nicht ganz aufrichtig gegen mich gewesen, oder schweigsam, um mir mündlich den wahren Endzweck seiner weiten und langen Reise mitzutheilen. Ihre Hohenstauffen sind ein fest beschlossenes, für sich bestehendes Kunstwerk, ein ausgewachsenes reifes Individuum, aus schöner Begeisterung hervor gegangen, durch edlen Fleiß und großartige Kritik vollendet, ein Werk, das uns zuerst eine sichere Ansicht des Mittelalters, seiner Großheit und mannigfaltigen Kräffte gegeben hat: selbst, (was unmöglich ist) Sie entdeckten Schätze, die Ihnen Ihr Buch und Ihre Überzeugungen umänderten, so dürften Sie doch nichts Wesentliches ändern, denn immer ist es noch das Befriedigendste, was wir so vollständig und umfangreich besitzen, sei von Politik, Bildung, Entwicklung, von religiösen Kräften oder Staatsgewalt die Rede, und unvergleichlich in fester und sicherer Zeichnung der einzelnen großen Charakteren. Man lebt mit dem Buch und wächst mit ihm auseinander.

Sie werden aber auch, wenigstens am wichtigsten Ort nicht einmal Gelegenheit haben, neue Entdeckungen zu machen, denn jezt wird man S i e weder mit Güte, List noch durch Überredung in das Vatikan zulassen. Und Florenz? Neapel? Mailand? oder Sicilien? Werden Sie etwas, oder gar Vieles finden? Auch Brockhaus[52] ist sehr traurig darüber, daß die neue Aus-g(abe) des Werkes, nun n o c h um ein ganzes Jahr, wohl länger, soll verzögert werden.—Nein, mein Freund, hätten Sie einen ganzen Sommer daran gewendet, sich einmal auszuruhen, wie Sie es wohl am meisten fordern können, um sich in anmuthigen Gegenden, am Rhein, in der Schweitz und Italien sich umzusehn und zerstreut, so würde ich Sie loben; denn

[52] The publisher Heinrich Brockhaus, a close personal friend of Tieck and the publisher of many of his works. H. Lüdeke von Möllendorf has recently published the correspondence between Tieck and Brockhaus (*Aus Tiecks Novellenzeit*, Leipzig, 1928). Brockhaus was also the publisher of Raumer's *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*.

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man kann manchmal der Bücher, auch der besten, herzlich satt werden—aber ein Jahr, und mehr, und bis Sizilien, um zu suchen, zu forschen, abzuschreiben! In Ihren Jahren!—Wie die Kaiser wandern Sie immer wieder nach Italien, wie durch Gewalt und Schicksal hingezogen. Aber wiederkommen müssen Sie, heiter, gesund! Und vorher b e i u n s s e i n!! Nicht zu kurz! Wir müssen über Manches Abrede treffen! Ja, ja müssen Sie, so lange irgend möglich, in Dresden verweilen!! Reiseten Sie nicht über Dresden, so glauben Sie mir nur, würden Sie mich unbeschreiblich betrüben. Dies sind keine leeren Worte und gewöhnliche(n) Freundschaftsphrasen. Ich halte es auch wirklich, so gewiß bin ich Ihrer Liebe, für unmöglich, daß Sie dergleichen in Absicht haben könnten.

Ich bilde mir nun ein, Sie haben eigentlich die Absicht, die Stimmung, Verhältnisse, Wirren, Ent- und Verwicklung in Italien zu beobachten: das Österreichische Wesen dort, die Seltsamkeit in Turin und Modena, die scheinbare Ruhe in Florenz, das Pabstwesen im Kirchenstaat, die Unruhen, die sich in Neapel und Sicilien erneuen und zubereiten. Und allerdings wäre es etwas Herrliches, von einem so kritischen Forscher, Geschichtmaler und unbefangenen Beobachter einmal etwas Gründliches und Befriedigendes zu erfahren. Dann ist das Feld weit genug, und ein Jahr kein zu langer Zeitraum, zu wünschen wäre alsdann nur, Sie könnten noch einen Abstecher nach Griechenland und Constantinopel machen. Werden Sie aber auch drucken dürfen, was Sie gesehn und erfahren haben? Brockhaus wollte mir abstreiten, daß Ihnen ein solcher Plan vorschwebe; es war aber vielleicht nur eine zu weit getriebene Discretion von ihm; denn allerdings dürfte davon vorher kein Geklätsch ins Publikum kommen. Wenn ich aber Recht habe, so müssen Sie mich zum Vertrauten machen: dann bin ich natürlich verschwiegen und leugne; sonst kann ich ohne Indiskretion den Menschen meine vage Vermuthung und Hypothese mittheilen

Die Rübchen sind vortrefflich. Unser aller Dank für Ihre und Agnes, und Ihrer lieben Frau Bemühung. Sie werden uns wohl durch die Solger[53] von Gräfinn Henriette[54] die Auslage in Empfang nehmen lassen.

[53] The widow of Tieck's friend; see Note 21, above.

[54] See Note 37, above.

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O wie Schande, daß Sie sich nie um seltne Ausgaben und rare Bücher bekümmert haben! Denn bei Ihrem längern Aufenthalt in Ital[ien], Florenz, Rom, besonders aber Neapel und Palermo, müßten Sie für mich herrliche Sachen zu billigen Preisen finden. Denken Sie aber wenigstens in Neapel und Sicilien an mich, wo sich noch viele spanische Dichter, besonders Comödien umtreiben, weil unter span. Herrschaft auch span. Stücke gespielt und die Literatur beliebt wurde. Vielleicht können Sie mir meinen Lope komplettiren. Ich würde Anstalt treffen, daß ich Ihnen die Auslagen gleich vergüten könnte, oder daß Sie eine Anweisung gleich für mich mitnähmen. Wollen sehn, wie es sich macht. Brockhaus hilft mir gewiß dabei.

Nun leben Sie wohl für jezt und antworten Sie mir bald. Wir sind alle leidlich wohl und alle grüßen herzlich. Wie geht es mit Hugo? Ich fürchte herzlich schlecht. Dieser ist doch noch von allen Genies, die mir vorgekommen sind, der schlechteste

Ich umarme Sie herzlichst. Meine Grüße den Ihrigen.

Ihr
treuer Freund
L. Tieck.

Dr[esden], den 17. Decbr., [18]38.

II

The Partly Published Letters

The printed versions of Tieck's letters to Raumer are not always complete. Like many editors, Raumer was quite arbitrary in making omissions. Thus even a casual examination of Tieck's letters of November, 1821, December 6, 1822, March 16, 1827, and others as published in LB reveals the fact that they are printed only in part. We shall quote here the accessible passages which are omitted in the printed text, also variant readings.

1

In the letter of December 21, 1817, between "und an sich irre gemacht hat?" and "Wenn Sie mir nur bald . . ." (LB II, 78) the manuscript reads:

Sie sprechen von Solger, wenn Sie den haben könnten. Dieser steht aber auch wirklich für eine Welt: mir ist dies

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Allumfassende eines Gemüths, diese Fähigkeit, in alles einzugehn, diese Tiefe und Klarheit noch nie vorgekommen; ich kann Ihnen nicht sagen, wie viel ich ihm zu danken habe, seine Bekanntschaft und Freundschaft macht einen Hauptabschnitt meines Lebens aus. Mir ist es jezt eine Probe, die ich anstelle, wenn ich sehe, daß manche mit ihm oder seinen Schriften nichts anzufangen wissen. In der Geschichte, besonders der neuern, möchte man vielleicht seine schwächste Seite sehn, und wie belehrend und originell ist doch jedes Urtheil von ihm über ein geschichtliches Werck. Auch ich hoffe, daß Ihre Vorlesungen von Nutzen seyn werden, denn wahrer verderblicher Jakobinismus, der bald sophistisch die Despotie lehren will, um nur die lezte Freiheit einzureißen, oder die Anarchie, (unbewußt meist) um selbst zu herrschen, ist es doch, was jezt die Mehrzahl der Deutschen, besonders der jungen sogenannten guten Köpfe und Patrioten, begeistert und verwirrt. Die anmaßliche Religion unserer Tage haben wir nun auch wieder herrlich(e) zu Grabe gehen sehn. Nicolai ist unsterblich, und Berlin bleibt eben Berlin. Wenn Sie mir nur bald. . . .

The same letter reads (LB II, 79): "meine geschichtlichen Plane." The manuscript then reads:

Immer bleiben mir Shakspear's Bürgerkriege das größte Muster: (die rothe und weiße Rose, Heinrich IV und V gehören in ein andres Element, wir haben kaum in der deutschen Geschichte irgendwo einen Moment. . . .

The same letter reads (LB II, 79): "und Heinrich der Vogler mir der heiterste Moment . . ." The manuscript reads: ". . . Heinrich der Vogler, einer der heitersten Momente."

Between "sich nicht denken läßt" and "Sehr froh bin ich" (LB II, 79) the manuscript has the following passage:

ich wünsche mich selbst zu diesen Arbeiten hier, und abgesehn von Kunst und Poesie wird mir alsdann, wenn etwas fertig ist, Ihr Urtheil eins der wichtigsten seyn, denn Ihr scharfer Sinn für Porträt und Individuum, für den ächten edlen Prosaismus des Lebens (die meisten halten umschriebenes Null für Poesie und ausgesprochenes Null für Prosa) soll mich dann belehren, denn gelingt es mir nicht, scharf, wahr und in diesen Schauspielen so

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gegenwärtig zu seyn, daß man Vorzeit und Poesie gantz vergißt, so habe ich Öhl und Mühe verlohren. Und wie gesagt, hierinn sollen Sie bei mir das Präsidium führen. Dann soll erst von Kraft und Plan die Rede sein, worinn die Deutschen sich eine Zeitlang auch übernommen haben.

The same letter ends (LB II, 79): ". . . des Publikums nicht vergegenwärtigen." The manuscript then continues:

die richtige Kenntnis dieser und wahre dramatische Intuition begeisterte ja eben unsern Nicolai so allmächtig, und ¾ die damals von ihm scheinbar abfielen, dürften sich jezt nur wieder zu ihm bekehren, und sie würden gewinnen. Besonders die junge Brut, die ich wahrhaft hasse. Sehn Sie, das ist auch ein Zeichen des Alters, und schwerlich der Weisheit. Aber ich frage mich oft, mit wem ich lachen soll, wenn ich schreibe, da diejenigen, die gleichsam durch mich jene alberne Welt haben verachten lernen, mir noch viel lächerlicher als jene Aufklärung und Berlin und Philosophie sind. So habe ich oft das Gefühl, daß ich gar kein Publikum mehr habe. Oft denke ich dann auch, ich bin nur mürrisch und eigensinnig. Wie wenig ist mir überhaupt im Leben noch zum Verehren vorgekommen. Immer sah ich die Albernheit, wo meine Zeitgenossen vor 20 Jahren und jezt ihren Enthusiasmus haben. Das mag auch Gicht seyn, aber ich bin inkurabel.

Viel Geschwätz wenn auch kein Brief. Leben Sie glücklich, heiter, thätig, grüßen Sie Ihren lieben Bruder, und Frau und Steffens, und Hanne, und Rickchen; auch Hagen. Hagen und Steffens haben mir das Versprochene noch nicht geschickt, mahnen Sie noch einmal, und behalten

Sie auf alle Zeiten lieb

Ihren getreuen Freund

LUD. TIECK.

2

The letter of November 24, 1823, reads (LB II, 149): "den Mittelpunkt der neuen Geschichte," while the manuscript reads: "den Mittelpunkt der neuern Weltgeschichte."

The same letter reads (LB II, 149): "auch nicht anders schließen, und," while the manuscript reads: "auch nicht anders schließen können, und."

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The same letter ends (LB II, 150): ". . . es soll viel gesetzter ausfallen." The manuscript continues as follows:

Für die Lampe dankt die Gräfinn und ich recht sehr. Sie erfüllt vollkommen Ihren Endzweck, und ist gleich gut zum Studiren, wie zum Vorlesen. Nur muß ich freilich bei kleinem oder blassem Druck doch meine Brille brauchen. Die Gräfinn läßt fragen, wie viel sie Ihnen dafür schuldig sei:—Wenn es Ihnen nur nicht unbequem fiele, möchte ich der Gräfinn wohl solche Lampe, von derselben Art, zu Weihnachten schenken; hier sind sie nicht zu haben, und die Fabrikanten, die ihre große Zweckmäßigkeit nicht einsehn, spotten über die Form.

Wenn mir Kr.[55] doch noch, wie er damals so halb versprach, die 200 rl. schaffen könnte. Dann wäre ich aus aller Noth, und Juli würde mir die Rückzahlung auf keinem Fall schwer werden, denn alle Anstalten sind schon getroffen.

Ich muß schließen; meine Grüße Ihrer theuren Gattinn und den Kindern: senden Sie doch gleich Robert[56] diesen Brief, und behalten Sie lieb

Ihren
Freund
L. TIECK.

3

The letter of November 19, 1824 (LB II, 169), omits almost three pages at the beginning, which are of decided biographical importance to the student of Tieck. We learn that at first Tieck planned to make the edition of his *Schriften* much more comprehensive. The manuscript reads:

DRESDEN, den 19 Nov. [18]24.

Mein geliebter Freund,

Schon seit lange konnten Sie wohl mit dem vollesten Recht den längst versprochenen Brief erwarten. Mancherlei Geschäfte, Unpäßlichkeiten und dgl. haben mich bisher abgehalten. Ich kenne Ihre vergebende, tolerante Liebe, Sie tragen nicht nach, Sie sind nicht unversöhnlich. Vorerst empfangen Sie hiermit die Novelle Dichterleben.[57] Man will sagen, sie sei

[55] Perhaps Karl Christian Friedrich Krause, 1781–1832, a writer on philosophical subjects. See his letter to Tieck in Holtei, *Briefe an Tieck*, II, 216.

[56] Perhaps the dramatist Ludwig Robert, 1778–1832.

[57] The first part of this ambitious novelle on Shakespeare and his times appeared in the *Urania* for 1826.

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meine beste. Die Gräfinn ist die einzige hier, die diese Unterschiede und Subordination nicht so unbedingt statuiren will. Nun muß ich Ihnen auch meine Wünsche in Ansehung dieser Bogen mittheilen. So bald wie möglich möchte ich sie wieder hier haben, weil ich keine vollständige Abschrift besitze. Ich bitte auch, sie nur dem nächsten Kreise unsrer Freunde mitzutheilen, als K r a u s e,[58] Loebel, wohl auch S u l z m a n n und Hagen, wenn sie diese so schnell abreichen können: auch habe ich nichts dagegen, wenn Hering[59] sie mit lesen hört. Diese wären denn aber auch alle, die ich zu nennen wüßte, denn da es noch ein halbes Jahr währen kann, ehe sie erscheint, muß im Publikum vorher nicht zu viel davon die Rede sein, sonst ist der Kleinigkeit die Spitze abgebrochen. Sie werden sie darum auch nicht aus den Händen geben. Ist die Lesung überstanden, so theilen Sie sie meinem Bruder mit, der sie mir dann sogleich wieder senden kann. Oder umgekehrt, wenn es Ihre Zeit so verlangt, daß dieser sie früher erhält, und ich sie von Ihnen zurück erhalte.

Zunächst melde ich Ihnen, daß Reimer[60] wieder hier gewesen ist, und daß ich nun endlich mit diesem wegen der Herausgabe meiner Schriften einig geworden bin. Nach reichlichem Nachdenken habe ich den Plan geändert und mich entschlossen, manches, was fast schon fertig war, zu vollenden, wie den Sternbald,[61] das Donau Weib,[62] die dramatische Magelone,[63] eben so die Melusine,[64] auch den Roman Alma[65] hinzuzufügen, aus welchem ich in der Sammlung einige Gedichte mitgetheilt habe.

[58] Cf. Note 55, above.

[59] Wilhelm Häring (pseud., Wilibald Alexis), 1798–1871, the historical novelist.

[60] Georg Reimer, the Berlin publisher who brought out Tieck's *Schriften* in 20 (+ 8) volumes.

[61] The work had appeared in 1798. It was thoroughly revised and reprinted in *Schriften* XVI.

[62] Act I, written in 1808, had appeared in 1818. It was reprinted but not completed in *Schriften* XIII, 193.

[63] The novelle was published in the *Volksmärchen*, II, 145 (1797), and reprinted in *Phantasus* (1812) and in *Schriften* IV. In 1802 Tieck had planned a drama on the theme but never completed it.

[64] *Melusine: dramatisches Fragment*, in *Nachgelassene Schriften*, I, 160; never completed.

[65] Tieck began this novel in 1797. For lyrics from it see *Gedichte* I (Dresden, 1821), pp. 185 ff., and *Gedichte* (Berlin, 1841), p. 351 ff.

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Dadurch, hoffe ich, so wie durch den Abdruck von zwanzig bis dreißig Sachen, die dem Publikum neu sind, oder die man nicht mir zugeschrieben hat, soll die Herausgabe einen Reitz der Neuheit erhalten, auch die Wiener Nachdrucke[66] völlig schlagen, die dagegen dann durchaus unvollständig erscheinen. So hat sich dann nun auch Reimer, statt zu 6000, wie früher schon halb beredet war, zu 10,000 verstanden, von denen ich freilich nur 7000 baar erhalte, dafür aber nun auch bei ihm völlig schuldenfrei bin. Ich werde Krause bitten, den Contract in einiger Zeit für mich zu entwerfen, und Sie können dann für mich abschließen. Ich denke, ich kann so zufrieden sein, und Reimer auch, besonders da er nachher noch als Anhang den verbesserten Don Quixote[67] drucken wird, für den ich nichts begehre. Wir haben die Ausgabe, bei nicht weitläufigem Druck, zu 25 Bände[68] angeschlagen. Gern spräche ich mit Ihnen, und andern Freunden, über die Anordnung. Ich denke mit den Mährchen anzufangen: 2–3 Bände; dann die Dramen: 8–9 Bde; Romane, 3 Bände; Erzählungen, 4 Bd.; Vorreden, 1; Alma, 1; Sternbald und Klosterbruder, 4.[69]—Fehlt noch Frauendienst,[70] Minnelieder,[71] Kleinigkeiten, und die Ergänzung der Einleitung zum Phantasus,[72] die ich als eigenen kleinen Roman geben und vollenden will. Auf Johannis k.J. soll die Erste

[66] Pirated reprints of some of Tieck's works. Cf. Köpke, *op. cit.*, II, 56.

[67] Tieck's translation appeared in four parts, Berlin, 1799–1801. It was not republished as a supplement to the *Schriften*.

[68] Actually 20 volumes came out. The first ten appeared in 1828; 11–15, incl. in 1829; 16 in 1843; 17 and 18 in 1844; 19 in 1845; and 20 in 1846. Later, in 1853–54, Reimer published eight additional volumes containing new printings of novellen which Josef Max in Breslau had originally issued. The order in which the works appeared in the *Schriften* is quite different from that here indicated. Vol. I contains Octavian; II, Genoveva, Abschied and Rotkäppchen; III, Fortunat; IV–V, Phantasus; VI–VII, Lovell; VIII, early works, among them Abdallah, etc.

[69] *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, by Wackenroder, preface by Tieck, 1797. A new impression was published in 1822, but not among Tieck's works.

[70] *Frauendienst, oder Geschichte und Liebe des Ritters Ulrich von Lichtenstein*, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1812. This work is not in the *Schriften*.

[71] *Minnelieder aus dem schwäbischen Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1803. The preface is reprinted in *Kritische Schriften*, I, 185. The work is not in the *Schriften*.

[72] *Phantasus* appeared in three volumes, Berlin, 1812–1817. It was republished in *Schriften* IV and V (1828) with a note "An A. W. Schlegel (statt einer Vorrede)" and the original preface. A new edition came out in 1844–45.

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Lieferung von 4 Bd. erscheinen, und das ganze in anderthalb Jahren. Wobei ich freilich viel zu thun haben werde. Leichte und schwere Arbeit.

Ich bin auch mit Reimer überein gekommen, den Shakspear[73] zu vollenden: jedes St. 30 Frdr. Das Ganze aber mit Verbesserungen herauszugeben, wofür ich dann außerdem, nach Vollendung, 1500 Mk. erhalte. Nicht unbillig, wie mir scheint. Warum nur noch nicht die Ankündigungen zu fabriziren! Sie haben keine Vorstellung, wie schwerfällig ich in solchen Sachen bin.

Hat denn der König[74] die Zopf: Novelle[75] gelesen? Und, wenn es ist, kann es irgend zu einem Resultate führen, wie Sie damals zu hoffen schienen? Kann ich nun auch bald meine geschriebenen Bogen zurückerhalten? Die Gräfinn sammelt diese, und ich wünsche sie deshalb, weil sie eine besondere Freude an den Manuskripten hat.

Nun sollte ich Ihnen, so wie Loebel und Krause wohl etwas über Schlegels Aufenthalt. . . .

The same letter ends (LB II, 173): "Vieles, das Meiste auf unser Wiedersehen." The manuscript continues:

auf unser Wiedersehn, gehn Sie mit diesem Anvertrauten, Angedeuteten um, wie mit der Frau eines verehrten Freundes, die man nicht lieben kann.

An Hering sollte ich schreiben; sein sehr talentvolles Buch zwingt mich fast dazu. Gewiß, diesen Waladmor[76] hätte ich ihm nimmermehr zugetraut, u ich würde es einem Fremden nicht so leicht geglaubt haben, daß er von ihm herrührt. Denn nicht nur, daß er den langen Finnen (ein ganz schlechtes Produkt)[76a] bei weitem überragt, so ist er auch viel besser als der Ronans-Brunnen,[77] der Rival,[78] der Peveril,[79] und Manches

[73] This refers to Tieck's most ambitious literary project, Das Buch über Shakespeare, never completed. So far as it was available in the Nachlass it has been published posthumously by Henry Lüdeke (Halle, 1920).

[74] Frederick William III of Prussia.

[75] This probably refers to Tieck's novelle *Gesellschaft auf dem Lande* (1821).

[76] The discussion concerns the novel of Häring (Alexis), *Walladmor*, which had just appeared (1823–1824) in three volumes.

[76a] Possibly *The Pirate*, by Walter Scott, which appeared December 1821.

[77] *St. Ronan's Well*, a novel by Sir Walter Scott, appeared in December 1823.

[78] Probably *Quentin Durward*, appeared June 1823.

[79] *Peveril of the Peak*, by Walter Scott, which appeared in January 1823.

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Werk des bewunderten Großen. Der Zug der Contrabande, der Radikale fast durchaus, die Mottete und die Prophezeiung an diesen, sind wahrhaft vortrefl. und dieses und so manches im Buche lassen uns für die Zukunft die schönsten Hofnungen schöpfen. Sagen Sie ihm das. Aber auch, daß alles Seewesen völlig und unverzeihlich misrathen ist. Aus dem Ersten Capitel würde ich gesehn haben, daß das Buch von einem Binnen-Menschen herrührt. So kann man nicht zur See sprechen, gar im Sturm, am wenigsten auf einer Tonne reiten, und sie nach Gutdünken fahren lassen, um sie als Retourfuhre wieder zu benutzen. Kein Paket-boot hat eine Pulverkammer, die auffliegen kann; am wenigsten auf dem Dampfboot. Tausend solcher Verstöße und Böcke könnte man aufmutzen. Auch nüzt es dem Verfasser nicht, wenn er antwortet: das sei eben auch Ironie, um die Unwahrscheinlichkeiten, die Unmöglichkeiten des Scott zu parodiren, denn wenn das Ironie sein dürfte, so wäre die Schraube ohne Ende das ironischte Wesen in aller Schöpfung. Das Missverstehn der Ironie ist die böse Seite des Buchs: daher der Held so gimpelhaft. Eine Selbstparodie im engen Bewußtsein ist nichts weniger als Ironie. So könnte man sie sich auch, wo sie fehlt, gut unbeirrt mit der Post schicken lassen. Daher der Schluß des Buches so unerlaubt lahm, und das Ganze zerstörend. Der Melbourn völlig unerlaubt und Nichts. Aber, wenige junge Autoren haben so schnelle und sichtliche Fortschritte gemacht. Loben Sie ihn: ich werde nicht dazu kommen, etwas Gedrucktes darüber zu äußern; ich habe zu viel zu thun, auch die Anzeige der Hohenstaufen.[80] O Sie Fleissiger! Dem alles so von der Hand geht! Des Himmels Seegen ist an Ihnen sichtbar.

Meinen Gruß Ihrer lieben Gattinn, auch, Ihren trefflichen Freunden, Allen, so auch der lieben Marie, und der lebhaften, guten Agnes.[81] Ich denke an Alle mit Rührung, und hoffe Sie alle im Sommer hier zu sehn.

Lassen Sie denn dies für einen Brief gelten?—Wie viele Antwort bin ich aber Loebel schuldig!!

Ihr
wahrer Freund
L. Tieck.

[80] Tieck had promised Raumer a notice on his great historical work as soon as it began appearing, but this promise, like so many which he made, was never fulfilled.

[81] Raumer's daughters.

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4

The text of the letter beginning "Ihre Briefe" (LB, 197) opens as follows in the manuscript:

DRESDEN 14 Jan. 26.

Liebster Freund,

Immer wieder beschämen Sie mich, und immer wieder kann ich Ihnen weder Ihre treue Freundschaft, noch Ihre herrliche und großartige Manier, sich in kurzen Briefen so auszusprechen, daß ich oft noch lange zu denken habe, erwiedern. Ich bleibe immerdar in Ihrer Schuld, und insolvent.

Denn ich habe in der That viel zu thun, und immer eilig, so werden Sie bald die d r a m a t. B l ä t t e r, B. II,[82] mit manchem Neuen, wenn auch Unbedeutenden, erhalten. Dann verspreche ich Ihnen auch mich s o g l e i c h an die Rezension zu setzen, und in d r e i Wochen soll sie Brockhaus g e w i ß haben, sagen Sie ihm das, werde Sie dann auch, wie sie wolle, denn Sie sind schuld daran. Ich werde ganz so sprechen, als wenn ich am Phantasus, oder an einer Novelle schriebe.

In LB II (p. 197) this letter ends: "unerträglich matt und weichlich." The manuscript continues:

Ich habe Riener Philosoph. Geschichte für 3 Thaler für Sie gekauft.

Was Sie in Ihrem allerlezten Briefe berühren, ist zum Theil ein Gegenstand jenes Romans A l m a,[83] den ich schon im Jahre 1797 anfing, und später viel und vieles durcheinander davon gearbeitet habe. Einige Gedichte habe ich im Phantasus und Gedichtsammlung aufgenommen. Der Zusammenhang wird sich künftig einmal mehr erklären.

Dank an Löbell, herzlichen, für den Bogen: alles trefflich und gerührt bin ich über die Art, wie er meiner erwähnt: das beruhigt und stärkt, von solchen Männern geachtet zu sein.

Keine Sorge wegen des Theaters:—sollte ich Läuse bekommen, werde ich mir deshalb nie den Kopf abschneiden. Und so ist es doch nur.—Uechteritz[84] soll nicht kleinmüthig werden,

[82] Vol. II of *Dramaturgische Blätter* appeared in Breslau in 1826. It was republished as Vol. IV of *Kritische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1852.

[83] Alma: cf. Note 65, above.

[84] Cf. Note 29, above. For Tieck's connection with Üchtritz' drama *Alexander und Darius* see *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Uechtritz und seine Zeit.* Mit

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Anfang Februar wird Alex. aufgeführt. Es wird hoffentlich gut gehn, wenn nicht, so war es Schicksal, und man kann nichts dadurch verlihren.

Alle grüßen und freuen sich Ihrer Briefe.—Nur nicht krank werden!

Wegen Macbeth werde ich besorgen, so gut ich kann.

Ganz Ihr treuer Freund

L. TIECK.

Dresden,
den 19ten Januar
1826

Bitte einliegenden Zettel sogleich in Nicolais Haus an H. Panthey zu schicken.

5

Tieck's letter of April 2, 1829, opens in LB II (p. 289) with: "Über Ihre Novelle Marie hätte ich . . ." In the manuscript we read:

DRESDEN, den 2ten April 1829

Mein geliebtester Freund,

Das ist das Zeichen und Unterpfand der wahren, ächten Liebe, daß der Liebende auch zu verzeihen weiß, daß den Freund erkannt sieht, und nicht verkannt, indem er ihn übersieht. Freilich habe ich auf alle die freundlichen Anmahnungen viel zu lange geschwiegen, und doch, wenn Sie zugegen gewesen wären, würden Sie selbst am besten meine Entschuldigung führen können. Am störendsten, daß die Gräfinn von Neujahr krank war, und erst jezt in der eigentlichen Besserung ist. Sie wollen kommen, das ist die Hauptsache. Für mich bringen Sie den Frühling mit; wie immer: Sie Treuer, Unerschütterlicher! Aber eilen Sie nicht von hier. Wir haben uns so viel zu sagen: mehr noch als sonst. Und bringen Sie recht viel von Ihren Arbeiten mit. Nur bleiben Sie so lange, wie möglich. Wollen Sie unsre unbequeme Stube oben wieder annehmen? Ist es Ihnen irgend angenehm, so machen Sie ja nicht die geringsten Umstände. Sie kennen ja unsre ganze häusliche Einrichtung.

einem Vorwort von H. von Sybel, Leipzig, 1884, p. 149 ff. The play was performed in Dresden on January 24, 1826, and soon after in Vienna and Berlin. Cf. also Holtei, *Briefe an Tieck*, IV, 108.

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Über Ihre Novelle![85] Ich hätte Ihnen nur gleich. . . .

In the same letter the following variations also occur between LB and the manuscript:

LB 289: hatte mich nichts so *sehr* aufgeregt . . .
MS: hatte mich nichts so aufgeregt . . .

LB 290: Wo Weiber sind, wie im Alterthum.—
MS: Wo Weiber *nur Weiber* sind, wie im Alterthum . . .

LB 291: Das Leben, gleich Leben:
MS: Das Leben—Leben:

LB 291: . . . je anders sein *oder* sein können?
MS: . . . je anders sein, *und* sein können?

LB 291: . . . gar nicht berührten; *obgleich* er mir . . .
MS: . . . gar nicht *mehr* berührten; *dass* er mir . . .

LB 292: . . . seines Hierseins viel gelernt, aber freilich auf die entgegengesetzte Weise . . .

MS: . . . seines Hierseins *s e h r* viel gelernt; aber freilich auf die *v ö l l i g* entgegen gesezte Weise, . . .

LB 292: in kleine Dürftigkeit
MS: in *eine* kleine . . .

LB 292: . . . verkennt.)
MS: . . . verkannt.

Here the text in LB ends. The manuscript continues:

Nur kommen! lange hier bleiben! und wir wollen auch manchmal im Sokratisiren schwelgen. Immer mehr geistige Fühlfäden wachsen Ihnen, liebster Freund, Sie werden immer jünger, je älter Sie werden. Bringen Sie mir nur auch mündlich jene polnische, reizende Novelle ganz mit, und ich will sie schreiben, und recht viel hinzu lügen.

O b Sie aber die i h r i g e[86] d r u c k e n lassen? Und mit Ihrem Namen?? Schon Ihre Freunde verstanden sie nicht—und das Publikum??—H e r b e wird es auf die Menge wirken, schwerlich verständig:—dazu fehlt eine gewisse Kunst und Vollendung, Virtuosität der Erzählung, um es den Harthörigen geschmeidig und weniger kraus im Hinterschlucken zu machen.

Alle die Meinigen freuen sich herzlichst auf Sie; sehr die Gräfinn; am sehrsten ich!

[85] Raumer's *Marie, eine Erzählung* (1828), published in LN II, 64.

[86] This probably refers again to Raumer's *Marie*. Tieck's opposition to its publication probably explains why it was not published until 1869.

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Gruß Ihrer lieben Frau, den Kindern und Ihnen, allen Fremden!

Auf Wiedersehn, jezt nach einem, oder wohl gar anderthalb Jahren!

L. TIECK.

Dresden,
den 2ten April
1829.

Als Ersatz für die Briefe die ich Ihnen nicht geschrieben habe, nehmen Sie die anliegenden von mir an Friedrich Schlegel,[87] die ich aus seinem Nachlaß zurückerhalten habe. Ich gebe Ihnen Vollmacht daraus abschreiben zu lassen, was Sie interessirt, damit auf diese Weise mein Beitrag zu Ihrer reichen Briefsammlung verstärkt, und mein Gewissen über das Mißverständniß beruhigt werde.

Welch Papier! welche Feder! welche Tinte!—Adieu!

6

In LB II, p. 191, there is a letter from Tieck to Raumer on Lady Macbeth. The following textual differences between the text of LB and the manuscript occur:

LB 192: edle und *weise* Naturen
MS: edle und *weiche* Naturen

LB 192: in Heinrich IV
MS: in Heinrich VI

LB 193: Nun die Nachtscenen.
MS: Nachts*c e n e.*

LB 193: Noch Nacht. Sie kommt,—
MS: Sie *k ö m m t.*

LB 193: herunterkommt: flüstern alles
MS: *flü s t e r n d* alles

LB 193: ein schönes, rührend ergreifendes
MS: ein Schönes, rührend Ergreifendes.

LB 194: man es seitdem *nicht verstanden* hat
MS: man es seitdem *mißverstanden* hat

LB 194: . . . Ausmalung, an welche sich
MS: , an welcher

[87] The letters of Tieck to Friedrich Schlegel here referred to are now preserved in the Preußische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

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LB 194: . . . "Lear" die Töchter zurück, wie die Königin in "Hamlet."
MS: . . . zurück: wie *unschuldig* die Königin in Hamlet.

LB 194: der erträumte Genuß ist nirgends,
MS: nirgend

LB 194: Ihre erste Frage nach,
MS: Erste Frage

LB 195: sie hat den Mord aus Liebe zu ihm begangen, und beide . . .
MS: sie hat den Mord aus Liebe zu ihm *hauptsächlich, und wieder aus Liebe zu ihm* begangen, und beide

LB 195: . . . und nun ebenso tiefsinnig ist, . . .
MS: *trübsinnig*

LB 195: hier *gar* nicht kalt,
MS: hier *ja* nicht kalt,

LB 195: "Im Kampf fast mit dem Tag, ob Nacht, ob Tag," ist schon . . .
MS: "Im Kampf fast mit dem Morgen, welche es sei" ist schon . . .

LB 195: Aufforderung *zum Schlafen*
MS: Aufforderung *zu schlafen.*

Attention should finally be called to the fact that references to Raumer are not infrequent in Tieck's unpublished correspondence with others. Thus with an undated letter to a publisher (original in Dresden) he transmits "einen interessanten Beitrag" from the pen of his friend. Upon another occasion he sends Raumer a word of greeting through a musician by the name of Pott (original in Jena). That Raumer was very much interested in music and musical questions and discussed with Tieck matters pertaining to this interest, has been revealed by the new Raumer letters published recently by Marta Becker in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, LV, pp. 144 ff.

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DAS RICHARD WAGNER-ERLEBNIS THOMAS MANNS[1]

VON ANNA JACOBSON

ES ist nichts Neues, von einem Wagner-Erlebnis Thomas Manns zu sprechen. Und wer in die Werkstatt des Künstlers blicken will und sich in die Abhandlungen und Essays[2] vertieft, der empfängt von Thomas Mann selbst den Schlüssel zu diesem Erlebnis seiner Jugend. Richard Wagner verschmilzt mit zwei Namen zu einem großen Erlebnis: Schopenhauer, Wagner, und Nietzsche bilden ein magisches Dreigestirn, in dessen Zeichen sein Leben stand, wie Thomas Mann in den Betrachtungen schreibt; denn diese drei sind wie er Literaten und Musiker, „aber das letztere mehr." Er betrachtet sich als ihren ehrfürchtigen Schüler, sie als die Führer und Erwecker zu seinem geistigen Leben. Und lange noch, nachdem das Erlebnis längst verrauscht ist, erkennt und bekennt Thomas Mann (oft mit leidenschaftlicher Hingabe), was ihn einst erschütterte, und was so bestimmend auf ihn wirkte.

Ein solches Bekenntnis möchte ich meinen Ausführungen vorausschicken.[3]

„Selten, denke ich, wird auf einen Nicht-Musiker—und entschiedeneren Nicht-Dramatiker—der Einfluß Wagners so stark und bestimmend gewesen sein, wie ich es von mir zu bekennen habe. Nicht als Musiker, nicht als Dramatiker, auch

[1] Diese Studie ist nur ein Kapitel einer größern Arbeit, die sich zur Aufgabe gestellt hat, die Widerspiegelung Wagners in der modernen Literatur zu untersuchen. An Hand von Romanen sollen die Kurven der Wagner-Kritik und Einschätzung nachgezeichnet werden. Thomas Mann spielt hierbei eine bedeutsame Rolle; zwischen Fontane und Friedrich Huch und Franz Werfel ist sein Platz, und erst in solch einem größeren Rahmen wird diese kleine Untersuchung ihre richtige Beleuchtung erhalten.

[2] *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen. Bemühungen. Rede und Antwort. Pariser Rechenschaft. Lübeck als geistige Lebensform order die Entstehung der Buddenbrooks.* Die Zitate aus den *Romanen* und *Novellen* sind der Dünndruckausgabe entnommen: *Die erzählenden Schriften.* Gesammelt in drei Bänden.

[3] *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, 1922, S. 47.

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nicht als , Musik-Dramatiker ' wirkte er auf mich, sondern als Künstler überhaupt, als der moderne Künstler par excellence, wie Nietzsches Kritik mich gewöhnt hatte, ihn zu sehen, und im besonderen als der große musikalisch-epische Prosaiker und Symboliker, der er ist. Was ich vom Haushalt der Mittel, von der Wirkung überhaupt im Gegensatz zum Effekt, dieser , Wirkung ohne Ursache '—vom epischen Geist, vom Anfangen und Enden, vom Stil als einer geheimnisvollen Anpassung des Persönlichen an das Sachliche, von der Symbolbildung, von der organischen Geschlossenheit der Einzel-, der Lebenseinheit des Gesamtwerkes—was ich von all dem weiß und zu üben und auszubilden in meinen Grenzen versucht habe, ich verdanke es der Hingabe an diese Kunst. Heute noch,[4] wenn unverhofft eine beziehungsvolle Wendung, irgend ein abgerissener Klang aus Wagners musikalischem Kosmos mein Ohr trifft, erschrecke ich vor Freude. Aber dem jungen Menschen, für den zu Hause kein Platz war, und der . . . in ungeliebter Fremde lebte, war diese Kunstwelt buchstäblich die Heimat seiner Seele."

Wen es drängt, mit solcher Aufrichtigkeit nach vielen Jahren davon zu sprechen, was ein Künstler ihm in den Jahren des Reifens gab und war, der wird bewußt und unbewußt in seinem künstlerischen Schaffen Spuren solcher Wirkung aufweisen. Thomas Manns Gestalten erleben Wagner, diskutieren ihn und lassen ihn auf sich wirken; sie verfallen seinem Zauber oder verwerfen ihn: Der Bajazzo, der kleine Herr Friedemann, Gerda und Hanno Buddenbrook, Organist Pfühl, Gabriele Eckhof und Herr Spinell, sie alle erleben den Rausch und Zauber Wagnerscher Musik. *Lohengrin*, *Der Ring*, *Tristan* stehen im Vordergrund. An Wagner geformt und gestaltet sind die um die Jahrhundertwende entstandenen *Buddenbrooks*, die er „einen von Wagner her beinflußten Versuch eines Prosa-Epos" nennt, „in das er die recht Unlübeckischen geistigen Erlebnisse einströmen ließ."[5] Die Dramen Wagners, die für die Gestalten Thomas Manns von größter Bedeutsamkeit werden, haben auch im Leben des Dichters eine eigene und wichtige Rolle gespielt. Man vergleiche das Lohengrin-Erlebnis des kleinen Herrn Friedemann und das Hanno Buddenbrooks mit Thomas Manns persönlichem Erlebnis auf Piazza Colonna.[6]

[4] Geschrieben 1915–1917.

[5] *Lübeck als geistige Lebensform*, 1926, S. 14.

[6] *Betrachtungen*, S. 48 f.

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Man verfolge die Wirkung Tristans auf Herrn Spinell, seine Interpretation des Sehnsuchtsmotives und diejenige Thomas Manns in den *Betrachtungen*;[7] man stelle das Meistersinger-Vorspiel, wie Gerda Buddenbrook es vorträgt, den verschiedenen Ausführungen in den *Betrachtungen* und in *Bemühungen* gegenüber.

In der Novelle *Der Bajazzo* (1897) beschäftigt sich der Knabe, ähnlich wie Hanno Buddenbrook,[8] am liebsten mit seinem Puppentheater, mit dem er sich ganz allein einschließt, „ um die merkwürdigsten Musikdramen zur Aufführung zu bringen." Er improvisiert „ mit großem Aufwand von tragischem Mienenspiel, deklamierendem Gesang und rollenden Harmonien ein Musikdrama von Richard Wagner." [9]

Die Aufführung von Lohengrin führt den kleinen Herrn Friedemann zu tragischem Erkennen seiner unglücklichen Liebe. Wir lauschen mit ihm den „ romantischen Botschaften " [10] dieser Musik und empfinden sein sehnendes Verlangen. „ Die Geigen sangen, die Posaunen schmetterten darein, Telramund fiel, im Orchester herrschte ungeheurer Jubel, und der kleine Herr Friedemann saß unbeweglich, blaß und still, den Kopf tief zwischen den Schultern." [11] Wir fühlen das Nachzittern des musikalischen Erlebnisses in dem Helden, sehen ihn in der Pause noch bleicher werden, erregt während des zweiten Aufzuges den Fächer der angebeteten Frau aufheben, und erleben seine Qual und Sehnsucht, bis am späten Abend die Lohengrin-Musik, die ihm wieder in den Ohren klingt, ihm alle Pein ins Bewußtsein zurückruft. Ähnlich ist in den *Buddenbrooks* die Lohengrin-Aufführung im Stadttheater ein unerhörtes Traum- und Wirklichkeitserlebnis für den fünfzehnjährigen Hanno.[12] Ein krasses Gegenstück zu diesen Jubelhymnen ist die Verhöhnung einer Lohengrin-Aufführung in Heinrich Manns Gesellschaftssatire *Der Untertan*.

Hanno erregt die Vorfreude auf Lohengrin bis in alle Fasern

[7] *Betrachtungen*, S. 83.
[8] *Buddenbrooks*, S. 607.
[9] *Novellen*, S. 384 ff.
[10] *Betrachtungen*, S. 48.
[11] *Novellen*, S. 366 ff. „ Der kleine Herr Friedemann," 1897.
[12] *Buddenbrooks*, S. 683 f.

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seines Wesens. „ Und dann war das Glück zur Wirklichkeit geworden. Es war über ihn gekommen, mit seinen Weihen und Entzückungen, seinem heimlichen Erschauern und Erbeben, seinem plötzlichen innerlichen Schluchzen, seinem ganz überschwenglichen und unersättlichen Rausche." Er ist bis ins Innerste ergriffen; und wie sein Vater Thomas über der Lektüre Schopenhauers—dieser „ geistigen Quelle der Tristan-Musik " —das Todeserlebnis schauernd ahnt, sieht Hanno in dem durch Wagners Musik erzeugten Wahnzustand Hoffnunglosigkeit und Bergesschwere, die ihn zu Grunde richten müssen. Ein fieberhafter Rausch verzaubert ihn, macht ihn verzagt und trunken, stürzt ihn in Verzweiflung und Scham, nimmt ihm Mut und Kraft. Angst, Qual und Ekel erfüllt ihn am folgenden Schultag, und nur die Musik kann ihn erlösen und frei machen. Er denkt in Motiven und musikalischen Themen, und noch unter dem Eindruck der Aufführung phantasiert er im Halbdunkel am Flügel, indem er in seiner Komposition das Ringen seiner zarten Seele enthüllt. Vor unseren Ohren ersteht die Komposition des Fünfzehnjährigen,[13] sie baut sich auf, erschüttert den Spieler und den Leser, wie Wagner selbst Thomas Mann ergriffen haben mag. Hier ist die „ Inständigkeit der Wagnerleidenschaft, die Passion, die erkennende und hellsichtige Liebe," [14] von denen in den *Betrachtungen* die Rede ist. Wenn Thomas Mann in Hannos Melodie Drängen, Wogen, Irren und Entgleiten zum Ausdruck bringt, wenn Hörnerschall und Bläserchor, Jagdlied und betender Choral ertönt, wenn Harmonien „ fragend, klagend, ersterbend, verlangend, verheißungsvoll " klingen, wenn die Weise bald stark und demütig, bald irrselig und süß und schmerzlich singt, so ist kein Zweifel, daß hier in ungewöhnlicher Form ein Erfassen und Verherrlichen Wagners dargestellt ist, das durch die Anpassung an Wagners Rhythmus und Sprachmelodie besonders eindrucksvoll hervortritt.

Auch Hannos Musik ist heroisch, romantisch, todsüchtig, und es ist kein Zufall, wenn manche Wendung, die Hannos Musik charakterisiert, an andrer Stelle in Thomas Manns Werk

[13] *Buddenbrooks*, S. 729 ff.

[14] *Betrachtungen*, S. 39 ff.

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als Urteil über Wagners Musik wiederkehrt. Wagner als Lebensinhalt eines jungen Menschen, der dem Untergang geweiht ist, bildet Thomas Manns Ausgangspunkt und Thema für den großen Roman. Inhaltlich und formal ist Hannos Komposition ohne Wagner kaum denkbar.

„Es war ein ganz einfaches Motiv, das er sich vorführte, ein Nichts, das Bruchstück einer nicht vorhandenen Melodie, eine Figur von anderthalb Takten. . . . Was wurde erlebt? wurden hier furchtbare Hindernisse bewältigt, Drachen getötet, Felsen erklommen, Ströme durchschwommen, Flammen durchschritten? Und wie ein gellendes Lachen oder wie eine unbegreifliche selige Verheißung schlang sich das erste Motiv hindurch, dies nichtige Gebilde, dies Hinsinken von einer Tonart in die andere . . . ja es war, als reize es auf zu immer neuen, gewaltsamen Anstrengungen, rasende Anläufe in Oktaven folgten ihm, die in Schreie ausklangen, dann begann ein Aufschwellen, eine langsame unaufhaltsame Steigerung, ein chromatisches Aufwärtsringen[15] von wilder, unwiderstehlicher Sehnsucht, jäh unterbrochen durch plötzliche, erschreckende und aufstachelnde Pianissimi, die wie ein Weggleiten des Bodens unter den Füßen und wie ein Versinken in Begierde waren[16] . . . und es kam, es war nicht mehr hintanzuhalten, die Krämpfe der Sehnsucht hätten nicht mehr verlängert werden können. Es kam, gleich wie wenn ein Vorhang zerrisse, Tore aufsprängen, Dornenhecken sich erschlossen, Flammenmauern in sich zusammensänken. . . . Die Lösung, die Auflösung, die Erfüllung, die vollkommene Befriedigung brach herein, und mit entzücktem Aufjauchzen entwirrte sich alles zu einem Wohlklang, der in süßem und sehnsüchtigem Ritardando sogleich in einen andern hinübersank . . . es war das Motiv, das erste Motiv, was erklang! Und was nun begann, war ein Fest, ein Triumph, eine zügellose Orgie ebendieser Figur, die in allen Klangschattierungen prahlte, sich durch alle Oktaven ergoß, aufweinte, im Tremolando verzitterte, sang, jubelte, schluchzte, angetan mit allem brausenden, klingelnden, perlenden, schäumenden Prunk der orchestralen Ausstattung sieghaft daherkam. . . . Es lag etwas Brutales und Stumpfsinninges und zugleich etwas asketisch Religiöses, etwas wie Glaube und Selbstaufgabe in dem fanatischen Kultus dieses Nichts, dieses Stücks Melodie, dieser kurzen, kindischen,

[15] Vergleiche *Novellen*, S. 459. „Die Hungernden": „das chromatische Ringen der Tristan Musik."

[16] Vergleiche *Novellen*, S. 512.

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harmonischen Erfindung von anderthalb Takten . . . etwas Lasterhaftes in der Maßlosigkeit und Unersättlichkeit, mit der sie genossen und ausgebeutet wurde, und etwas zynisch Verzweifeltes, etwas wie Wille zu Wonne und Untergang in der Gier, mit der die letzte Süßigkeit aus ihr gesogen wurde, bis zur Erschöpfung, bis zum Ekel und Überdruß, bis endlich, endlich in Ermattung nach allen Ausschweifungen ein langes, leises Arpeggio in Moll hinrieselte, um einen Ton emporstieg, sich in Dur auflöste und mit einem wehmütigen Zögern erstarb."

Und wie ist dieses Kind zu Wagner geführt worden? Hannos Mutter ist eine leidenschaftliche Verehrerin dieser neuen Kunst. Er lauscht auf ihr Spiel (wie Tonio Kröger auf das seiner südlichen Mutter) und auf die Gespräche mit ihrem Musiklehrer, „ und so geschah es, daß nach den ersten Schritten, die er auf seinem Lebenswege getan, er der Musik als einer außerordentlich ernsten, wichtigen und tiefsinnigen Sache gewahr wurde." Der siebenjährige Hanno wiederholt auf dem Flügel „ gewisse Klangverbindungen, die Eindruck auf ihn gemacht." Er spielt an seinem achten Geburtstag der Familie seine erste eigene Phantasie vor, an der zwar sein Lehrer mancherlei auszusetzen hat. „ Du hast zu gut zugehört, wenn ich deiner Frau Mama gewisse Sachen vorspielen mußte." Schon diese frühe Komposition, namentlich der Schluß, weist deutlich Klang und Tonfarbe Wagners auf, wenn sie in Motive wie Süßigkeit-Seligkeit-Sehnsucht ausklingt.

Aber auch ein Anti-Wagnerianer wird durch Gerda Buddenbrook zu Wagner bekehrt: Herr Edmund Pfühl, Organist von Sankt Marien, den Gerda so weit bringt, daß er sich gezwungen sieht, seinem Buche über den Kirchenstil „ einen Anhang über die Anwendung der alten Tonarten in Richard Wagners Kirchen- und Volksmusik hinzuzufügen."

Nur langsam ist dieser Weg der Bekehrung; Pfühl haßt Wagner, denn er bedeutet für ihn „ Chaos, Demagogie, Blasphemie und Wahnwitz." „ Das ist parfümierter Qualm, in dem es blitzt. Dies ist das Ende aller Moral in der Kunst, Ich spiele es nicht." [17] Aber allmählich gewinnt das Meistersinger-Vorspiel den Gegner, und unwiderstehlich erstarkend regt sich die Liebe zu dieser Kunst, über die er erschrickt und

[17] *Buddenbrooks*, S. 482 ff.

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die er verleugnen möchte, deren Bann er sich aber nicht entziehen kann. Er spielt und transponiert Wagner; er läßt das Kind Hanno lauschen, unterrichtet es und läßt es in seiner Neigung und Richtung gewähren, und muß am Ende zugeben, daß Gerda recht hatte, als sie ihm einmal sagte: „Diese Musik ist Ihrem innersten Wesen weniger fremd, als Sie annehmen."

Man beachte das Heitere im Rhythmus von Thomas Manns Stil, wenn er das Meistersinger-Vorspiel an uns vorüberziehen läßt. Da hören wir „ein Schwellen und Blühen, ein Weben und Singen, aus welchem sich, leise zuerst und wieder verwehend, dann immer klarer und markiger, in kunstvoller Kontrapunktik ein altväterisch grandioses, wunderlich pomphaftes Marschmotiv hervorhob." [18]

Dem *Tristan* gehört Thomas Manns größte Liebe. 1909 schreibt er: „Darum liebe ich das Werk am meisten, das aus der ‚Sehnsucht hin zur heiligen Nacht' geboren wurde und gleichsam trotz seiner selbst dasteht in seiner Willens- und Schlummerherrlichkeit,—ich meine den *Tristan* von Richard Wagner."

In der Studie „Die Hungernden," die mit einer Parodie auf die Tristan-Musik beginnt, erfreut sich der Held an dem chromatischen Ringen der Tristan-Musik „auch noch in ihrer mutwilligen Entstellung."

Aber das inständigste Erlebnis, die hinreißendste Wirkung *Tristans* enthält die Novelle, die dem Musikdrama und seiner Rolle in der Erzählung den Namen verdankt.[19] Auch der Ort „Einfried" ist sicherlich nicht unabsichtlich gewählt und unterstreicht Stimmung und Atmosphäre. Die Prosa geht in alliterierende, dithyrambische Formeln und Rhythmen über, die aus Wagner-Worten zusammengefügt sind. Kein Name, kein Bericht führt uns auf den Höhepunkt der Novelle. Ein Erschrecken, Erbleichen, Erzittern, als die Noten gefunden werden, und dann hören und erleben wir diese Musik vom Vorspiel bis zum tragischen Höhepunkt.

Wieder wie den kleinen Herrn Friedemann durchwühlt Wagners Musik den Lauschenden, nur daß hier auch die

[18] *Buddenbrooks*, S. 484.

[19] Eine ähnliche Situation findet sich in Fontanes Roman *L'Adultera*, wo das Liebeserlebnis sich auch um Wagnersche Kunst aufbaut.

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Spielende ergriffen wird; und der ganze Abschnitt, der der Novelle den Titel gab, zaubert bis in die kleinste Einzelheit die Tristan-Musik hervor: das Sehnsuchtsmotiv läßt seine bange Frage vernehmen, das Liebesmotiv begehrt leidenschaftlich auf in schwerer, schmerzlicher Wonne, das Todesmotiv senkt sich herab, und die beiden, die spielen und hören, werden der Wirklichkeit entrückt und folgen willen- und zügellos dem magischen Spiel. „Was geschah? Zwei Kräfte, zwei entrückte Wesen strebten in Leiden und Seligkeit nach einander und umarmten sich in dem verzückten und wahnsinnigen Begehren nach dem Ewigen und Absoluten. . . .“ [20]

Und je weiter Thomas Mann uns in *Tristan* eindringen läßt, desto bemerkbarer wird auch äußerlich Wagners magische Kraft und Wirkung, indem Thomas Manns Stil immer stärker in den Bann Wagners gerät. Formeln und Wendungen aus der ersten und zweiten Szene des zweiten Aufzuges von *Tristan und Isolde* sind wörtlich wiederzufinden. Nur einige seien angeführt:

„Hörnerschall verlor sich in der Ferne. Wie? Oder war es das Säuseln des Laubes? das sanfte Rieseln des Quells? Schon hatte die Nacht ihr Schweigen durch Hain und Haus gegossen, und kein flehendes Mahnen vermochte dem Walten der Sehnsucht mehr Einhalt zu tun. Das heilige Geheimnis vollendete sich. Die Leuchte erlosch . . . Trennen konnte sie des Tages tückisches Blendwerk, doch seine prahlende Lüge vermochte die Nachsichtigen nicht mehr zu täuschen, seit die Kraft des Zaubertrankes ihnen den Blick geweiht. Wer liebend des Todes Nacht und ihr süßes Geheimnis erschaute, dem blieb im Wahne des Lichtes ein einzig Sehnen, die Sehnsucht hin zur heiligen Nacht, der ewigen wahren, der einsmachenden. . . . O sink hernieder Nacht der Liebe, — gib ihnen jenes Vergessen, das sie ersehnen, umschließe sie ganz mit Deiner Wonne und löse sie los von der Welt des Truges und der Trennung. Siehe, die letzte Leuchte verlosch!“

Und hinter Spiel und Deutung dieser „trunkenen Gesänge des Mysterienspiels“ ersteht der seelische Kampf der beiden Verzauberten.

[20] *Novellen*, S. 508 ff.

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„Starb je die Liebe? Tristans Liebe? Die Liebe deiner und meiner Isolde? Oh, des Todes Streiche erreichen die Ewige nicht! Was stürbe wohl ihm, als was uns stört, was die Einigen täuschend entzweit? Durch ein süßes Und verknüpfte sie beide die Liebe . . . zerriß es der Tod, wie anders, als mit des einen eigenem Leben wäre dem andern der Tod gegeben? und ein geheimnisvoller Zwiegesang vereinigte sie in der namenlosen Hoffnung des Liebestodes, des endlos ungetrennten Umfangenseins im Wunderreiche der Nacht. Süße Nacht! Ewige Liebesnacht! Alles umspannendes Land der Seligkeit! wer Dich ahnend erschaut, wie könnte er ohne Bangen je zum öden Tage zurückerwachen? Banne Du das Bangen, holder Tod! Löse Du nun die Sehnenden ganz von der Not des Erwachens! O fassungsloser Sturm der Rhythmen! O chromatisch empordrängendes Entzücken der metaphysischen Erkenntnis! Wie sie fassen, wie sie lassen, diese Wonne fern den Trennungsqualen des Lichts? sanftes Sehnen, ohne Trug und Bangen, hehres leidloses Verlöschen, überseliges Dämmern im Unermeßlichen! Du Isolde, Tristan ich, nicht mehr Tristan, nicht mehr Isolde. . . ."

Wie eine Huldigung an Wagner mutet die ganze Novelle an. Das ist mehr als bloßes Namennennen, das ist Hingabe und Rausch.

Aber daneben haben wir sogar in den Augenblicken höchster Verzückung den sachlichen, ironisch lächelnden Thomas Mann. Während Gabriele und Spinell sich selbstvergessend in die Musik versenken, wirft Thomas Mann einen ironischen Blick auf die Rätin Spatz, auf die „diese Art von Musik ganz besonders wirkt," sie in Angstzustände versetzt, daß sie einen Krampfanfall befürchtet und das Zimmer verläßt. Oder Thomas Mann umgibt den trunkenen kleinen Herrn Friedemann mit einem Publikum, das zur Förderung seiner Bildung in die Oper *Lohengrin* geht. Die Aufführung, der Hanno lauscht, ist durchaus unzulänglich, die Haltung der bürgerlichen Zuhörer durchaus verständnislos, und das Klavier, auf dem Gabriele spielt, ist ein armseliges Instrument.

In Thomas Manns späteren Schriften wird ein Erlebnis Wagnerscher Musik nicht mehr widergespiegelt, wohl aber ist

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bis in die Aufsätze der letzten Jahre eine Stellungnahme zu Wagner zu verzeichnen. Hans Castorp, „ der die Musik von Herzen liebt," kennt selbstverständlich von frühen Tagen her Richard Wagner, und es empört ihn, wenn eine Patientin im Zauberberg, „ Leise, Leise Fromme Weise " im *Tannhäuser* unterbringt, aber seine Vorzugsplatten auf dem Grammophon sind Verdi, Gounod, Bizet und Schuberts Lieder. Die „ politisch verdächtige " Musik [21] Settembrinis und ihre teuflische Wirkung ist zweifellos identisch mit Wagners Kunst.

Thomas Mann kennt nicht nur die Musikdramen Wagners, er ist in das vielseitige Werk dieser Kulturerscheinung tief eingedrungen. Er vergleicht seine eigene Arbeitsweise mit der des Meisters. Die Entstehung der *Buddenbrooks* in Rom erinnert ihn an das Ringerlebnis Wagners, „ dem aus der Konzeption von , Siegfrieds Tod ' die leitmotivdurchwobene Tetralogie geworden war." [22] So hatte auch Thomas Mann, der von Hanno ausging, sich immer weiter rückwärts locken lassen. Zwölf Jahre früher hat Mann am Beginn seiner Abhandlung „ Friedrich und die große Koalition " [23] einen ähnlichen Gedanken ausgesprochen. Da redet er von der Versuchung, der er als Gelegenheitshistoriker ausgesetzt ist, „ der Versuchung, der Wagner auf das großartigste erlag, als er, eigentlich nur gesonnen, den Untergang seines Helden aufzuführen, von einer begeisterungsvollen Pedanterie, sich immer weiter im Mythos rückwärts locken ließ, ein immer größeres Stück der , Vorgeschichte ' mit aufzunehmen sich genötigt fand, bis er endlich am Grundanfange und Anbeginn aller Dinge notgedrungen haltmachte: beim tiefsten Es des Vorspiels vom Vorspiel, womit er denn feierlichst und fast unhörbar zu erzählen anhob."

Thomas Mann weiß von der Wirkung Wagners auf das Bürgertum, auf Barrès und Baudelaire, dessen „ sündhaft enthusiastische Beschreibung " vom Tannhäuser-Marsch er zitiert. Er kennt Fontanes Einstellung zu Wagner, sieht sogar in der nervösen Verfassung beider eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit, nur daß bei Fontane alles kühler und gemäßigter ist. Er setzt sich immer

[21] *Zauberberg*, S. 153.
[22] *Lübeck als geistige Lebensform*, S. 17.
[23] „ Friedrich und die große Koalition," 1916, S. 33.

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wieder mit Nietzsches Abfall von Wagner auseinander, den er noch 1925 das stärkste kritische Erlebnis seiner Tage nennt.[24] Er empfiehlt die Biographie des Schweden W. Peterson-Bergson, *Richard Wagner als Kulturerscheinung*, die anläßlich der Gedenktage 1913 entstand. Energisch wehrt er sich gegen die Verulkung der Lohengrin-Musik in Heinrich Manns Roman *Der Untertan*, ohne den Verfasser oder sein Werk zu nennen. Pfitzners *Palestrina* wird mit den *Meistersingern* verglichen. Nachdem er es dreimal während des Krieges gehört hat, setzt er sich persönlich mit Pfitzner darüber auseinander und gesteht, daß es ihm „etwas Letztes und mit Bewußtsein Letztes aus der schopenhauerisch-wagnerischen Sphäre ist."[25] Er liest Werfels *Verdi* mit einer Teilnahme, die an Leidenschaft grenzt.[26] Venedig-Wagner-Verdi! das hat er ja selbst erlebt. Dies verzweifelte Ringen, Anziehen und Abstoßen fasziniert ihn.

Das tiefe Eindringen in Wagners Werk und die starke Ausstrahlung Wagners auf Thomas Mann ist deshalb so bedeutsam und wirkungsvoll, weil Thomas Mann selbst Musiker ist. Von ihm gilt, was er selbst von Nietzsche sagt: „Er hat die Musik geliebt wie keiner: wir sagen es zur Rechtfertigung unseres Beschlusses. Er ist ein Musiker." So nennt er auch seine Werke gern Kompositionen und Partituren, spricht von Figuren, Leitmotiven, Thematik und Kontrapunktik in seiner Prosa. In der Vorrede zu den *Betrachtungen* faßt er nach seinen eigenen Worten „die Motive der folgenden Betrachtungen wie in einem musikalischen Vorspiel" zusammen. Er liebt die „direkte musikalische Verwertung der Leitmotive," aber nicht das Leitmotiv, so weit es ein bloßes Merkwort „physiognomischen und mimischen" Inhalts ist. Dies ist Thomas Manns „Haushalt der Mittel," und hier zeigt sich Wagner als Befruchter in einer anderen Kunstgattung. Als einziges Beispiel eines literarischen Leitmotivs wähle ich eine Redensart aus den *Buddenbrooks*: auf den Steinen sitzen. Tony, die vor ihrer Verlobung nach Travemünde geschickt ist, wohnt bei Schwarzkopfs und hat ihre erste

[24] *Bemühungen*, S. 281 u. 335.
[25] *Betrachtungen*, S. 411.
[26] *Bemühungen*, S. 282.

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Schwärmerei. Als sie mit Morten eine vornehme Bekanntschaft aus Lübeck trifft, äußert er: „Ich setze mich dahinten auf die Steine (S. 128). Tony kommt an den Steinen vorüber, auf denen Morten Schwarzkopf sitzt (S. 131). Jedesmal wenn Tony mit ihrer städtischen Bekanntschaft im Kurgarten oder am Strande ist, „saß Morten auf den Steinen. Diese Steine waren seit den ersten Tagen zwischen den beiden zur stehenden Redewendung geworden. Auf den Steinen sitzen, das bedeutete: vereinsamt sein und sich langweilen. Kam ein Regentag . . . dann sagte Tony: Heute müssen wir beide auf den Steinen sitzen . . . das heißt in der Veranda" (S. 132). Morten erkennt den Abgrund, der sie gesellschaftlich trennt. „Wenn Sie wieder in Ihren Kreis der Bevorzugten und Auserwählten treten, dann kann man auf den Steinen sitzen. ‚Morten,' sagte Tony traurig, ‚nun haben Sie sich doch geärgert, wenn Sie auf den Steinen saßen'" (S. 137). Als Tony nach Lübeck zurückfährt, und die Verlobung mit Herrn Grünlich auf sie wartet, hört sie plötzlich mit leiblichem Ohr Morten sagen: „Heute müssen wir beide auf den Steinen sitzen" (S. 152). Viel später im achten Teil, im 9. Kapitel des Romans, wenn Tony zu ihren vielen Schicksalsschlägen erfährt, daß ihr Schwiegersohn wegen Veruntreuung verurteilt werden wird, sagt sie schluchzend: „Wir können einfach auf den Steinen sitzen." Und als ihr Bruder fragend wiederholt: Auf den Steinen? antwortet sie: „Nun ja, das ist eine Redewendung, eine bildliche" (S. 537).

Thomas Mann nennt sich einen Ohrenmenschen,[27] der selbst die Landschaft durch das Ohr empfängt, wie er sich ausdrückt; seine Prosa ist aus der Gefühls- und Ideenverbindung von Meer und Musik entstanden.[28]

So sind auch Thomas Manns Gestalten Ohrenmenschen. Man beachte Hans Castorp im Schneesturm, als sein Traum ihm die herrlichsten Laute hervorzaubert. „Die Luft war

[27] Ausdruck Nietzsches.

[28] *Lübeck als geistige Lebensform*, S. 34.

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voller Vogellaut, voll zierlich-innigem und süßem Flöten, Zwitschern, Girren, Schlagen und Schluchzen, ohne daß eines der Tierchen sichtbar gewesen wäre." Er sieht eine Landschaft mit einem Regenbogen, und es heißt dann: „ das war ja wie Musik, wie lauter Harfenklang, mit Flöten untermischt und Geigen. Das Blau und Violett besonders strömten wunderbar." Im Traumbild erscheinen auch flötenspielende Hirten.

Während Thomas Mann sein großes Bekenntnisbuch *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* schreibt, wird ihm klar, daß Wagner vielleicht sein stärkstes und bestimmendstes Erlebnis war. Würde er sonst vergleichend gerade hieran zurückdenken, wenn im August 1914 ein neues gewaltiges Erleben und Erbeben ihn packt: der Krieg? „ Wohl möglich, daß er an Piazza Colonna dachte, zwanzig Jahrer später, im August 1914, und an die nervösen Tränen, die einst beim Siege des Nothungmotivs jäh seine Augen überfüllend ihm über das kalte Gesicht gelaufen waren, und die er nicht hatte trocknen können, weil ein fremdes Volksgedränge ihn hinderte, den Arm zu heben." [29]

Und während Thomas Mann zum Bekenntnis von innen gedrängt wird, steht das Erlebnis noch einmal mit aller Intensität ihm vor Augen und im Herzen. Sehend erlebt er zum zweitenmal, und mit dem Geständnis schüttelt er gewissermaßen die Gefahr ab, die er von jeher in der Musik Wagners ahnte und fühlte. Er überwindet Wagner, d.h. es ist kein Verleugnen und plötzliches Abwenden, sondern sein Lebensgefühl hat sich langsam gewandelt. Schon in den *Betrachtungen* haben wir ein Hinwenden zu einer neuen Richtung, schon hier ist die Rede von einer andern Seite der Romantik, die nicht so kompliziert und hysterisch, so todsüchtig und pessimistisch, so phantastisch und intellektuell ist. Eichendorffs *Taugenichts* ist gemeint, in dem Thomas Mann die Reinheit des Volkslieds und des Märchens, Gesundheit und nicht Exzentrik findet. Das aber liegt auf einer Ebene mit der Verherrlichung von Schuberts „ Lindenbaum," der für Hans Castorp zum Musikerlebnis wird.

Dieses Abwenden von Wagner ist nirgends offen ausgesprochen, aber überall klingt es hindurch. In seiner „ Rede

[29] *Betrachtungen*, S. 49.

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über Nietzsche" (1924) erklärt Thomas Mann, warum heute die Jugend, die an Zukunft glaubt, „nicht bei dem Namen jenes imperialen Romantikers schwört": Richard Wagner heißt Vergangenheit, Richard Wagner heißt Zauberlied des Todes. Richard Wagner war einst die Heimat seiner Seele und sein Grunderlebnis. Es hat ihn durchwühlt, hat in ihm Möglichkeiten und Kräfte geweckt, die nach ihrer Befreiung ihre eigenen losgelösten Wege gingen. Der Dichter, der einst die Geschichte des Verfalls einer Familie schrieb und von dem Untergang des Helden ausging, arbeitet zwei Jahrzehnte später an einem Werk, das nicht den Untergang, sondern den Aufgang, das Werden eines Menschen, das Erwachen zum Denken sich zum Ziel setzt. Das Grundmotiv des Romans *Der Zauberberg* wird schon in den *Betrachtungen* erwähnt: Sympathie mit dem Tode; das ist ein Leitmotiv, das auf Wagner deutet, aber aus Sympathie mit dem Tode entsteht Sympathie mit dem Leben, eine neue Humanität.

HUNTER COLLEGE

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MISCELLANY

An Unpublished Ludwig Tieck Poem

The same year in which Ludwig Tieck accepted his friend Wilhelm von Burgsdorff's invitation to find a home with him in his estate at Ziebingen (1802) [1] saw his acquaintance with Burgsdorff's cousin, the Graf Finck von Finckenstein, who lived on the nearby estate of Madlitz near Frankfort on the Oder. Graf Friedrich Ludwig Karl von Finckenstein, son of the well-known minister of Frederick the Great, was born in Berlin, February 18, 1745. Having chosen law as his vocation, he passed through the various stages customary for a man of his rank, becoming on November 15, 1775, second president of the Stettin Regierung, and in 1777 president of the Neumark Regierung at Cüstrin. In 1779 the king relieved him of his duties on account of a decision in a piece of litigation, known as the "Müller-Arnold Prozeß," which Frederick considered to be unjust. Although justified in the stand that he had taken, and fully exonerated by a later investigation, the count did not again take public office.[2] He lived instead in the bosom of his family at Madlitz, near Frankfort on the Oder, cultivating the arts, and at the same time concerning himself painstakingly with the management of his estates.[3] These included after 1802 also the Ziebingen estate.[4] A cultured man, the count not only took an active interest in all literary movements but published a critical edition of the first version of Kleist's "Frühling" (1805) and wrote metrical translations of the old bucolics by the rural Greek and Roman poets,[5] which he published in 1806 under the title of *Arethusa*.

The count received Ludwig Tieck most kindly, and, after he had gotten better acquainted with him, became a follower of his Shakespere enthusiasm and his love of medieval German and English poetry.[7] Tieck was a frequent visitor at the count's home, and in the family found a congenial cultured circle, including as it did such men as the artist Genelli (died in Madlitz Dec. 3, 1823),[8] and later on, Ritterschaftsrat and Landrat Wilhelm von Schütz, a schoolboy friend, a man who for a time was held in high repute among romanticists on account of his tragedy *Lacrimas*.[9]

The beauty of the country estate, which the count at great personal expense had remodeled in 1800 into an English garden,[10] enhanced for Tieck the attractiveness of the new environment. What could then be more natural than that Tieck should present his cultured patron with a copy of his edition of his *Minnelieder aus dem schwabischen Zeitalter*, when it was completed in 1803, or that this copy should be accompanied by a dedication giving expression to Tieck's admiration for him. The following poem which, so far as I have been able to ascertain, has never been published before, is printed here with the kind permission of the present heiress of the Finckenstein estate at Madlitz, Gräfin Barbara Finck von Finckenstein. It was found in the volume of the *Minnelieder* that Tieck presented to the count.[11]

In answer to an inquiry concerning possible Tieck material in the family archives, she informed me of the existence of "ein Band, 'Minnelieder' Ludwig Tiecks, in dem sich eine eigene geschriebene Widmung Tiecks an den Grafen befindet." In giving consent to the publication of the poem in the *Germanic Review*, she states (June 3,

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1929): "Es handelt sich bei der Widmung um ein völlig unbekanntes und bisher noch nirgends veröffentlichtes Gedicht."

"Minnelieder

aus dem

Schwäbischen Zeitalter

neu bearbeitet und herausgegeben

von

Ludewig Tieck

Berlin 1803 i.d. Realschulbuchhandlung.

Dem R.G.v. Finckenstein vom

Herausgeber

Dem Pflanzen, Baum und Strauch willig entsprießen,
Aus öder Wildnis ein befreundet Leben,
Anmuthige Einsamkeiten grün sich heben,
Dankbar sein stilles Leben zu versüßen;
Wem von der Lippe hold melodisch fließen
Der Vorzeit Lieder, die sich gern ergeben
Den neuen Tönen neu sich zu beleben:
Ihm sollen diese deutschen Lieder grüßen.
Gütig empfängt, was von den schönen Fluren,
Wald, Blumen, Freude, Frühling, edler Minne
Die edlen Dichter deutscher Zeit verkündet,
Der selbst erkennt die Schöne der Naturen,
Und was Dichtkunst mit lieblich ernstem Sinne
Ausspricht, in eigenem Gemüte findet.

L. T."

Tieck's admiration for the count persisted to the very last. The following parting tribute written by Tieck to Solger hardly a week after the count's death on April 18, 1818,[12] may perhaps serve to summarise the relations between the two men. Tieck writes to Solger from Ziebingen, April 27, 1818:[13]

"Vielleicht haben Sie es schon gehört, daß der alte Graf in Madlitz nach einer Art Schlag, in Zeit von acht Tagen an einem bösartigen Entzündungsfieber gestorben ist, gestern vor acht Tagen. Ich erfuhr bald seine Krankheit, glaubte aber nicht, daß er so schnell endigen würde. Mich hat dieser plötzliche Fall sehr erschüttert, denn ich habe es nun erst gefühlt, wie ich ihn liebte und wie sehr er mein wahrer Freund war. So sehr er mir durch Alter, Beschäftigung und seiner gantzen Bildung entfernt stand, so begriff er mich doch mehr als seine Söhne und war immer der jüngste von allen, wenn es auf Gefühl für Poesie, Natur oder das Schöne und Edle ankam. Er hatte eine wahre Zärtlichkeit für mich, und so sehr er mich stören konnte, so vermisse ich ihn jezt recht schmerzlich und es thut mir weh, daß er mein Buch über Shaksp. nicht mehr erlebt hat, für das er sich auf das lebhafteste interessirte, und aus welchem ich ihm auch oft gantze Capitel mündlich vorgetragen habe. Ehe noch Hagen den Vorsatz fassen konnte, die Niebelungen heraus zu geben, wußte er sie schon auswendig, indem er sie im Winter 1803 und 1804 unaufhörlich mit mir las, und von dem großen Werke begeistert war, als nur noch wenige in Deutschland es oberflächlich kannten. Wäre er nie Gutsbesitzer geworden, oder vorher nicht Jurist gewesen, so würde er gewiß einer der gebildetsten und edelsten Menschen, denn die

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Störungen seines Lebens fielen dann weg, und er konnte gantz seinem schönen Triebe und einer geregelten Tätigkeit leben."

NOTES

[1] R. Köpke, *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Dichters nach dessen mündlichen und schriftlichen Mittheilungen.* Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1855, I, 306.

[2] *Familiengeschichte des Gräflich Finck von Finckensteinschen Geschlechts*, Berlin, 1920, pp. 282–292, which is used as the basis for the account of the count's life.

[3] Köpke, *op. cit.*, I, 305.

[4] *Familiengeschichte*, 303.

[5] *Ibid.*, 296–297. Cf. also *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, VII, 21.

[6] *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, 21.

[7] Köpke, *op. cit.*, I, 305–306.

[8] *Allg. Deutsche Biographie, l.c.*

[9] Köpke, I, *op. cit.*, 369.

[10] *Familiengeschichte*, p. 299.

[11] For discovery of the poem and permission to publish it, I am indebted to the Gräfin Finckenstein of Schloss Madlitz in the Mark.

[12] *Familiengeschichte*, p. 304.

[13] In the Tieck-Solger Nachlaß 25 in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Ms. Bl. 83, pp. 1–2, printed, but with a few changes, in *Solgers Nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel.* Herausgegeben von Ludwig Tieck und Friedrich von Raumer. Leipzig, 1826, I, 621–22.

PERCY MATENKO

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A SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF PUBLISHED LETTERS FROM AND TO TIECK

The following supplementary list of Ludwig Tieck letters which have been published may be regarded as an appendix to two articles by E. H. Zeydel. The first, in the *Journal of English and German Philology*, January, 1929 (pp. 72–85), concerns itself with published letters by Ludwig Tieck; the second, "Nachträge zu Holteis Briefe an Tieck," *Modern Language Notes*, XLIII, 7 (November, 1928), 459–464, deals with letters written *to* him. It was thus deemed advisable to present the material referred to below in these two divisions. All the items in II and the bulk of those in I are the result of Zeydel's personal researches. Items 4 and 5 of I were contributed by Matenko. Item 6 was supplied by Mr. Anthony Scenna, a member of the German seminar at Columbia University, which is collaborating with Professor Zeydel in his projected edition of the entire unpublished Tieck correspondence.

I. Letters by Tieck

1. Tieck to Coleridge: Dresden, Apr. 30, 1834, in *Letters of S. J. Coleridge*, ed. by E. H. Coleridge, II (London: Heinemann), 1895, p. 670 (in English translation—Tieck to Coleridge—February 20, 1818). This letter is not reproduced but only its contents are given. It is, the editor states, a very long letter in which Tieck "discusses a scheme for bringing out his works in England, and asks Coleridge if he has succeeded in finding a publisher for him." (*Op. cit.*, p. 670.) The original is now in the possession of Professor H. W. Hewitt-Thayer of Princeton, who purchased it from a private autograph collector.
2. Tieck to Reimer: Dresden, July 16, 1828, by Freye in the *Zeitschr. für Bücherfreunde*, N. F., IV, 247–249.
3. Tieck to J. G. Zimmer: a fragment from a letter dated Ziebingen, den 20. Dezember

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1807, in O. Reichel, *Der Verlag von Mohr und Zimmer in Heidelberg*, Augsburg, 1913, pp. 180–109. The article also lists (pp. 109–114) the three letters to Zimmer quoted by Professor Zeydel from W. B. Zimmer, *J. G. Zimmer und die Romantiker*, Frankfurt, 1888, pp. 260–266, in the above-mentioned article in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, p. 82.

4. Tieck to Reuss: Berlin, den 28. Junius 1819, in *Einiges aus dem Reuss'schen Briefwechsel. Mitgetheilt von L. Schemann*, Göttingen, 1888, p. 27. The original is available in the Göttingen Universitäts-Bibliothek under the catalog number, "Sign. Photos 169, VIII, 25."
5. Tieck to Johanna Schopenhauer: Dresden, den 2ten May 1824, in *Damals in Weimar! Erinnerungen und Briefe von und an Johanna Schopenhauer*. Hrsg. von H. H. Houben. Leipzig, 1924, pp. 260–262. My attention was drawn to this work by Professor G. H. Needler, University College, University of Toronto.
6. Tieck to Göschen: Jena, den 16t. Juni 1800, in *Weimarisches Jahrbuch*, Hannover, 1856, IV, 25–26.
7. Tieck to Uhland (no place or date), in *Uhlands Briefwechsel, Veröffentlichungen des Schwäbischen Schillervereins*, II, 448.
8. Tieck to Göschen: den 23. Februar 1794, published in facsimile in *Aus den Briefen der Göschensammlung des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler zu Leipzig.* Leipzig 1918.

II. Letters to Tieck

1. From Jakob Grimm, 1811 (?), in the *Festschrift für W. Victor zum 25. Dez. 1910*, Marburg, 1910, pp. 150–156.
2. From Dumpf, 26. Mai–7. Junius 1820, in the *Baltische Monatsschrift*, 41. Jahrg., XLVII (Apr. 1899), 302–307.
3. Do., 20. April–2. Mai 1821, *ibid.*, pp. 311–317.
4. Do., undated, *ibid.*, pp. 317–321.
5. From Dorothea Schlegel, 15. Juli 1829, in E. Wieneke, *Carolina und Dorothea Schlegel in Briefen*, Weimar, 1914, p. 543.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL
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EIN BRIEF JOHANNA KINKELS AN CARL SCHURZ

Der nachstehende Brief stammt aus der Feder Johanna Kinkels, der Frau Gottfried Kinkels, des Dichters, Kunsthistorikers und achtundvierziger Freiheitshelden. Ihre Zeilen sind an Carl Schurz gerichtet, der bekanntlich Kinkel 1850 aus dem Spandauer Zuchthause befreite und dann mit ihm nach London floh. Schon an sich sind ihre Mitteilungen hochinteressant; denn hier berichtet eine sehr bedeutende Frau nicht nur über ihr Familienleben, das von allen, die sie gekannt haben, als ein außerordentlich glückliches geschildert wird, sondern sie läßt uns auch tiefe Blicke in ihre Lebensauffassung als Frau von Bildung und Mutter tun. Ganz besondere Bedeutung erhält ihr Brief aber dadurch, daß er sechs Tage vor ihrem durch Sturz aus dem Fenster verursachten und völlig unaufgeklärten Tode geschrieben ist. Selbst die, die ihr unmittelbar nahestanden, haben damals die Vermutung eines gewaltsamen Endes nicht ganz von sich weisen können. Doch ließen sich dafür keinerlei Beweggründe anführen, vielmehr sprachen alle Anzeichen gegen diese Vermutung, so daß heute allgemein ihr Ende als ein bedauerlicher Unfall angesehen wird. Auch der vorliegende Brief bietet keine Anhaltspunkte für

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die erstere Annahme. Sicherlich lebte die Briefschreiberin nicht in seelischer Depression, eher war ihr Seelenzustand bei der Abfassung dieses Briefes ein ruhiger, wenn nicht gar ausgesprochen heiterer. Sie ist mit ihrem Emigrantenlos ausgesöhnt, sonnt sich in ihrem Familienglück und stellt sich selbst als eine von aller Schwermut befreite Frau hin. Freilich sind sechs Tage eine Spanne Zeit, in der auch der gefestigste Seelenzustand erschüttert werden kann; Veranlassung zu solcher Erschütterung hat aber offenbar nicht vorgelegen. Auch Kinkel selber macht in keinem seiner erreichbaren Briefe auch nur die leiseste Andeutung, daß er das Ende seiner Frau für einen Freitod hielt. Im Gegenteil, als er ein Jahr später zum erstenmal wieder an Carl Schurz schreibt, spricht er mit ausgesuchter Hochachtung von seiner verstorbenen Frau und in Worten tiefsten Schmerzes über den noch nicht verwundenen Schicksalsschlag; ihr Andenken war ihm offenbar ungetrübt und frei von jedem Schatten.

Johanna Kinkels Brief wurde mir mit anderen Briefen beider Kinkels an Carl Schurz vor mehreren Jahren von dessen kürzlich verstorbener Tochter, Marianne Schurz, zur Einsicht und mit der Berechtigung späterer Veröffentlichung übergeben. Der Nachdruck bewahrt im einzelnen die Schreibweise der Verfasserin.

6 Eastbourne Terrace,
Paddington
London, November 9th, 1858

Lieber verehrter Freund!

Nachdem ich solange nur indirekte Nachrichten über Ihr und Ihrer lieben Frau Wohlergehen erhalten habe, wage ich es mit diesem Briefe in Ihr thätiges Leben einzudringen, und Sie im Namen unsrer ganzen Familie zu bitten, einen der bevorstehenden Winterabende zu einem Schreiben an uns zu verwenden. Um Sie auf alte Weise zu orientieren, will ich Ihnen Klein und Groß vorführen, damit Sie wissen, was aus uns geworden ist. Ich hoffe Sie werden dasselbe thun, und uns von Ihrem Jüngsten herauf, bis zu den großen Welt- und Staats-Actionen ein lebendiges Bild zukommen lassen.

Also: Der Mänes.[1] Dieses Wesen, auch Magnutius genannt, ist ein ziemlich langer „Lemges" geworden. Er geht jetzt mit seinem Bruder in dieselbe Schule, und obschon er kein so gewaltiger Lerner ist, so ist er in praktischer Anstelligkeit demselben schon überlegen. Er hat Geistesgegenwart, weiß sich überall durchzuhelfen, und gewinnt die Herzen aller mit seinen lachenden Augen und seiner glückseeligen Glockenstimme.

Die Adela:[2] alias Adip, geht auch noch in die Schule, und lernt alles nur keine feinen Sitten. Die Schoolmistresses sind in Verzweiflung über ihr lautes Sprechen, Gestikuliren, und daß sie auf den gemeinschaftlichen Promenaden der jungen Ladies den Regenschirm wie ein Bajonett auf der Schulter trägt, aber geben ihrem Charakter und Talent ein anerkennendes Zeugnis. Sie ist schon zu Bach und Beethoven vorgeschritten, und zeigt eine tiefe Künstlernatur.

Hannchen ist nun 12 Jahre alt, und da sie an der Spitze der Schule (vor den 18jährigen Mädchen) stand, haben wir sie zu Hause behalten. Kinkel hat sie zu seinem Amanuensis angestellt, und das engelgute Kind thut Alles so verständig und pflichttreu, dass ich nur mit Rührung an das große Glück denken kann, das uns in diesem Töchterchen erwächst. Die Freude an ihr ist doppelt groß, weil sie selbst so glücklich in diesem Element ist. Ich sehe einen Ersatz für unzählige Schmerzensstunden meiner Jugend in ihr. Mit ähnlichen Anlagen und Neigungen, war ich in Umgebungen gestellt, die jede geistige Ausbildung hinderten, weil sie sie bei einem Mädchen für schädlich hielten. Meine beste Lernzeit wurde mit Kochen, Nähen und dergleichen angepfropft, und was ich in der Kunst später geleistet habe,[3] verdanke ich nur meinem Ungehorsam, und mußte es mit vielen Schmähungen über Unweiblichkeit und Widerspenstigkeit gegen den Beruf einer bürgerlichen Tochter büßen. Mein Kind hat dagegen keine Gefahr durch solchen fortwährenden Kampf eine Charakterherbigkeit anerzogen zu bekommen, sondern sie entwickelt sich sanft und fröhlich in der ihr gemässen Sphäre. Ich erkenne von vornherein

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keine männlichen und weiblichen Arbeiten (im gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauch) an, sondern Arbeit der Intelligenz und mechanische Arbeit. Warum aber ein Mädchen von Hannchens Denkkraft zu mechanischen Arbeiten verurtheilt werden sollte, weiß wohl Niemand einen Grund.

Neulich als Kinkel auf mehrere Tage in verschiedne Städte zu Lectures reiste, sagte er nur der Kleinen die Gegenstände, und als er ankam, fand er seine Diagramme nach Zeitaltern geordnet, nach Kunstrichtungen vertheilt, in der gehörigen Reihenfolge von ihr verpackt, als ob er es selber gethan hätte. Ich glaube der Pöb könnte fast selbst eine Lecture halten.

Häusliche Geschäfte besorgt sie mit derselben praktischen Umsicht, und in allen Lernfächern arbeitet sie sich zu Hause mit großem Fleiße weiter. Ihre Beiträge im Maikäfer sind voller Witz und Malwida behauptete neulich, eine Szene in einem komischen Drama von Hannchen würde gedruckt für ein gültiges Stück einer erwachsnen Person gelten.

Nun habe ich mich von mütterlicher Vorliebe so unverantwortlich zum Lobe meines Pöbs hinreißen lassen, daß ich dies nur wieder gutmachen kann, indem ich möglichst kurz über meinen Erstgebornen hinwegeile. Der M i b e s ist ein braver Jung', und wir sind auf allen Punkten mit ihm zufrieden.

Nun komme ich. I c h bin wieder obendrauf, von allerlei gefährlichen Zuständen glücklich hergestellt, muß mich aber in Acht nehmen. Nun dabei kann ich mich trösten, denn wenn man näher den 50 als den 40gen rückt,[4] darf man nicht die eisenfeste Gesundheit beanspruchen, mit der man am Rhein über Berg und Thal singend schweifte. Ich studire jetzt besonders fleißig Geschichte der Musik und spiele die späteren Beethoven Sonaten, die über Opus 100 hinausliegen. Seit die Kinder herangewachsen sind, kann ich meine gewohnte Thätigkeit wieder aufnehmen, und ich lerne und studire just da weiter, wo ich Anno 44 stehen blieb,[5] nur mit etwas reifern Ansichten. Seit ich wieder ordentlich lese, und auch hier und da etwas schreibe, lebe ich innerlich auf und finde mich wieder. Man wird wahrhaftig auch mit krank daran, wenn man aus dem geistigen Element in dem man zu schwimmen gewohnt war hinaus aufs Trockene gesetzt ist. Es ist die Gefahr, die an alle Hausfrauen in der Mitte des Lebens herantritt. Man darf sich den Pflichten freilich nicht entziehen, die die Babies uns auferlegen, aber wir sollen d i e s e Pflichten nicht so lieb gewinnen, daß sie uns eine Leere zurücklassen, wenn sie endlich aufhören. Ich denke in diesem Moment neben der Moral im Allgemeinen, auch ein bischen an die herrliche Stimme und das schöne Talent Margarethens.[6] Ich hoffe, sie opfert es nicht ganz den lieben Kinderchen, denn wie schwer wird es Einem in spätern Jahren den Lernfaden anzuknüpfen. Margarethe wird es mir gewiß zugestehen, daß im Selbstlernen ein überaus seeliges Gefühl liegt. Man fühlt sich immer jung, solange man strebt.

Der L ä n g s t e im Hause soll der aufsteigenden Linie dieses Registers zufolge zuletzt an die Reihe kommen. Ihr alter, getreuer, aber correspondenzverschiebender Freund ist augenblicklich gesund. Kinkel hat sich der Heimath wieder in frische Erinnerung gebracht, indem er eben sein Drama *Nimrod*[7] herausgegeben hat. In diesem Werk schildert er den ersten König, die Entstehung des Priesterthums, und wie aus diesen Elementen (selbst bei edlen Vertretern) nothwendig zuletzt die Tyrannei erwachsen muß. Auch ein Stück Revolution kömmt darin vor, da der Author aber den Schauplatz nach Assyrien verlegt hat, darf er den Deutschen ungestraft die Wahrheit sagen. Der Stoff liegt v o r aller Geschichte; außer Nimrod kommen von biblischen Personen nur Abraham und Ismael drin vor; der erstere vertritt die Bourgeoisie-Ansichten, der letztre (sein verstoßner Sohn) das kommunistisch gestimmte Proletariat. Nach einigen Stimmen, die uns in Privatbriefen zugekommen sind, muß das Werk tüchtig im Vaterland gähren. Hoffentlich wirkt es auf diejenigen Classen, deren Beitritt der Freiheitspartei jetzt von höchster Wichtigkeit ist. Der Arbeiter braucht zur Revolution nicht mehr die Überzeugung gestärkt bekommen. Das ist längst geschehen, und wo er noch schwankt, wirken andere Kräfte auf ihn. Diejenigen Stände aber, d i e i m K ö n i g t h u m n u r d a s E d l e u n d i m V o l k n u r e i n S c h r e c k n i s s e h e n, müssen (wie ich glaube) durch den Spiegel, der ihnen im *Nimrod* vorgehalten wird, auf eine Gedankenspur geleitet werden, die sie noch nicht befahren hatten, und die leitet zur Freiheit. Ich wollte, es hätte mindre Schwierigkeiten, Ihnen das Buch zuzuschicken; ich thäte es gern, trotzdem daß Kinkel sich immer mit Stolz daran erinnert, daß Sie ihm das Zeugnis gaben, daß er Sie nie mit seinen Versen behelligt habe.

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Indeß Nimrod hat die schönsten Verse die Kinkel je gemacht, und die Idee die durch das Drama geht, ist so rein und groß, daß Sie gewiß Freude daran hätten.

Mit dem Unterrichten wie auch mit dem Lecture-halten [8] geht es Kinkel recht befriedigend. Überall sind Schüler und Auditorium warm für ihn eingenommen, und die äußern Resultate überheben ihn der schweren Sorgen, die uns noch vor ein paar Jahren drückten. Es ist Kinkel nicht bloß gelungen die Bedürfnisse unsres einfachen Lebens jetzt sicherzustellen, sondern auch außerhalb des Familienkreises die dringendsten berechtigten Ansprüche zu erfüllen, die an seine Hülfleistung gemacht werden. Das würde sehr erfreulich sein, wenn seine Gesundheit den Anstrengungen Stand hielte, die er sich auferlegt. Wir haben aber im letzten Jahr durch manche schwere Krankheit Kinkels die Mahnung bekommen, daß er sich zu wenig schont. Eine große Lebensverbitterung sind noch immer die unmöglichen Forderungen, die an seine Thätigkeit gemacht werden. Was einem kräftigen Charakter moralisch möglich ist, hat zwar keine Grenzen; wären nur nicht die physischen Unmöglichkeiten! Die guten und großmüthigen Menschen, die uns damals in der Noth unterstützten, machen fast ein Publicum aus. Aber Kinkel steht als Einzelner diesem Publicum gegenüber, das von ihm seine in 1000 widersprechende Einzelansprüche aufgelösten Forderungen nicht erfüllt sieht, und Keiner sagt sich, daß Alle wohl Einem, aber Einer nicht Allen helfen kann. Dies ist ein Leid, das uns bis an's Grab begleiten wird, und wogegen es keine Hülfe giebt, und wenn wir Tag und Nacht arbeiten.

Es kömmt keine Governess aus Deutschland in unsern Kreis, die nicht von irgend einem Bekannten, der noch so entfernt mit uns in Berührung gekommen, autorisirt wird, von uns zu verlangen, daß wir ihr in London zu einer Stellung verhelfen sollen. Dagegen fängt jetzt auch die Völkerwanderung der englischen Damen nach Deutschland an, in unsre Ruhe einzugreifen. Ich habe wohl schon zuweilen eine ganze Woche lang nur in fremden Angelegenheiten am Schreibtisch gesessen. Mein armer Mann wird aber in einer Weise geplagt, die komisch wäre, wenn die Consequenzen nicht so übel wären. Bei Menschen, deren Leben in ruhigen Gleisen bleibt, giebt es Pflichten in erster, zweiter, dritter Reihe u.s.w. Wer aber wie Kinkel in eine solche Ausnahmstellung geworfen worden ist, der kann nicht mehr die Dinge in der gehörigen Reihenfolge abthun. Die neuste Pflicht scheint immer die dringendste, wenigstens denjenigen Leuten, die sie ihm auferlegen. Während er sich nun Essen, Trinken und Schlaf abbricht, um Nro 100 zufrieden zu stellen, bleiben natürlich die 99 unbefriedigt und „ raisonniren ihm den Pelz voll." Wie schön und leicht war es in großen Zeiten, Einem großen Entschluß die That folgen zu lassen. Das Große nimmt so viel weniger Zeit und Kräfte in Anspruch als das Kleine. Jetzt muß sich der Revolutionär mit den kleinen Lebensaufgaben abmühen, und es wird eben so viel und mehr Lebenskraft leider an die unscheinbarsten Resultate verschwendet. Das indessen bleibt ein Trost, daß mit dem bloßen Erringen der Respektabilität in London, ein Indirektes geleistet wird, das einst der deutschen Sache zu gute kömmt. Weiter und weiter wird der Kreis in London, der von der fixen Idee zurückkommt, daß die deutsche Bewegung nichts als ein plündernder Mob gewesen sei. Doch Sie lesen ja englische Blätter, und wissen in welchem Licht wir Deutschen vor den englischen Staatsmännern gestanden haben.

Was sagen Sie dazu, daß der König von Preußen den Verstand verloren hat? Die Engländer glauben im vollen Ernst, der Prinz von Pr.[9] werde nun in den Liberalismus einlenken. Die Heirath mit der englischen Prinzess[10] kömmt den Constitutionellen sehr gelegen, aber ist recht gefährlich für die preußische Demokratie. Bös, daß England nun eine Stütze mehr für unsre Gegner wird.

In diesem Herbst absorbiren Indien und Amerika alle Interessen des Londoner Publicums. Schon strömen Emigranten aus Indien nach London, und diejenigen Refügies welche seit 49 gebummelt, machen denjenigen, die gearbeitet, das Leben doppelt sauer. Manche bisher noch besonnene Leute scheinen in den jetztigen Londoner Zuständen völlig aus Rand und Band zu kommen, und oft ist es schwer inmitten der allgemeinen Begriffsverwirrung den ruhigen Pfad der nächsten Pflichten noch zu erkennen. Viele unsrer Freunde sind von den indischen Greueln in ihren Verhältnissen gestört, ganze Classen von der amerikanischen Handelskrise[11] bis zu einem Grade aufgeregt, daß sie alle Bildungsbestrebungen von sich abweisen. Indirekt leidet jeder darunter, der vom Publicum abhängt, aber man preist sich glücklich, wenn es Einem nicht an die tiefsten Fasern des Lebens reicht.

Eine große Erquickung ist uns geworden; wir haben acht Tage in Manchester

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die Ausstellung der auserwähltesten Kunstschätze Englands genossen. Gemälde die Kinkel nur aus Büchern früher kennen lernen konnte, hat er hier gründlich studiren können. Man badete recht die Seele rein in dieser Fülle von Schönheit. Unsre treffliche Malwida [12] war auch mit da, und ging nachher noch auf eine Zeit nach Wales. Jetzt ist sie in London, gestärkt, gesund, heiter und liebenswürdiger als je. Wir sehen sie oft, und leben uns immer fester und treuer mit ihr ein.

Barbara Leigh-Smith, die älteste mit dem röthlichen Haar, hat in Algier einen Dr. Bodichon geheirathet, mit dem sie jetzt in den Vereinigten Staaten reist, um die Volkserziehung dort zu studiren. Sie hat eine ausgezeichnete Brochüre publiciert: „ Women and Work " die viel gelesen und bewundert wird. Ich finde es ein treffliches Buch, k u r z, und Frauenzustände von der richtigen Seite beurtheilt, d.h., bis zu dem Punkt der der Erfahrung einer so jungen Ehefrau wie Barbara zugänglich ist. Hat sie erst Töchter, so wird sie wol einen zweiten Band dazuschreiben, aus dem man wieder viel lernen kann.

Freiligrath ist Manager einer Bank geworden und befindet sich mit seiner Familie wohl auf.

Mit meinem guten Vater ist alles beim Alten. Der Wirth Hartzheim in Endenich vertritt jetzt meine Angelegenheiten in Bonn, die leider in sehr trübem Zustande in seine Hände kamen. Mit Grethchen Biesing wechsle ich selten Briefe, aber immer ist Ihr und Ihrer Familie Ergehen ein Hauptgegenstand von Grethchens Erkundigung, und ich gebe ihr getreulich Auskunft. Ein Gruß von Ihnen würde das wackere Mädchen sehr erfreuen.

Wir alle senden Ihnen und der lieben Margarethe wie auch Ihren Eltern und Geschwistern unsre wärmsten Grüße.

Voll Verehrung und dankbarer Liebe,
Ihre Johanna Kinkel.

Schwarz war hier, fand aber nur mich zu Haus. Er sieht sehr angegriffen aus und scheint im Gemüthe schwer zu leiden. Er wird in Mecklenburg eine Fabrik leiten.

Notes

[1] Ihr Bericht beginnt mit dem jüngsten Sohn Hermann.

[2] Adela geb. 12. August 1846, Johanna geb. 11. August 1845 (nach De Jonge, *Kinkel as Political and Social Thinker*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1926).

[3] Sie war in ihrer Jugend als Pianovirtuosin vorteilhaft bekannt, veröffentlichte 1852 *Briefe über Klavierunterricht;* außerdem verfaßte sie *Erzählungen*, 3. Aufl. 1883 und den Roman *Hans Ibeles*, der nach ihrem Tode (15. November 1858) im Jahre 1860 in London erschien.

[4] Sie wurde geboren am 8. Juli 1810.

[5] d.h. als ihr ältester Sohn Gottfried geboren wurde.

[6] Gemeint ist Margarethe Schurz geb. Meyer, die Frau des Carl Schurz.

[7] Erschienen 1857 bei Rümpler in Hannover.

[8] Einen eingehenden Bericht über Kinkels Londoner Tätigkeit gibt H. a. Rhyn in seiner Biographie.

[9] Der nachmalige Kaiser Wilhelm I., der am 8. Oktober 1858 die Regentschaft für seinen geisteskranken Bruder, König Friedrich Wilhelm IV., übernahm.

[10] Der Sohn des Prinzregenten, der spätere Kaiser Friedrich III., heiratete am 25. Januar 1858 die Tochter der Königin Victoria von England.

[11] Diese Krisis setzte im Jahre 1856 ein und zeigte ihre Auswirkungen in Europa bis zum Jahre 1860.

[12] Malwida von Meysenbug (1816–1903), Verfasserin der *Memoiren einer Idealistin*, des Romans *Phädra* und anderer Werke, bekannt und im Briefwechsel mit Kossuth, Garibaldi u.a., war mit beiden Kinkels eng befreundet.

A. Busse

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AN UNPUBLISHED DAUTHENDEY LETTER

The following hitherto unpublished letter was written by the German lyric poet Max Dauthendey to his stepsister Anna, who had emigrated to America when he was a boy. Dauthendey visited her on his way to Mexico in 1897 (Cp. *Raubmenschen, Ges. Werke*, 1925, III, 627). The document was very kindly placed at my disposal by the owner, Mrs. Carrie Frazier, and is here published with her permission and with that of Mrs. Annie Dauthendey, widow and sole heir of the poet. It is written in Latin script in Dauthendey's very characteristic large hand, filling the four pages of a sheet 8¾" by 11¼" folded once.

The only volume of letters hitherto published appeared as *Letzte Reise; aus Tagebüchern, Briefen und Aufzeichnungen.* München, A. Langen, 1925 (*Ges. Werke*, II, 147–726). It contains the bulk of the poet's correspondence with his wife while in the Dutch East Indies (1914–1918). Since many other letters are available only in scattered newspapers and periodicals, it might be of interest to the Dauthendey student to append here the following bibliography of letters

to MRS. ANNIE DAUTHENDEY: January 9, 1906 (Port Said); January 20, 1906 (Bombay); April 9, 1906 (Hongkong); April 12, 1906 (Macao); April 23, 1906 (Nagasaki); *Sport im Bild*, Berlin, XXXIV, 5, 6 (March 2, 16, 1928), pp. 265–268, 346–348, 376, 377. January 19, 1906 (Bombay); March 16, 1906; March 17, 1906 (Kandy); March 23, 1906 (Colombo); *Der Schünemann-Monat*, Bremen, 1928, 4 (April), pp. 380–387. May 31, 1906 (Honolulu); June 11, 1906 (Los Angeles); June 15, 1906 (El Tovar); *Frankfurter Zeitung*, volume 72, no. 546 (Tuesday, July 26, 1927). June 22, 1906 (Manitou); June 23, 1906 (Chicago); June, 1906 (Niagara Falls); *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin, 1927, no. 346 (July 24). February 18, 1915 (en route from Sumatra to Java); *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, July 19, 1927. March 21, 1915 (Garoet, Java); *Kölnische Zeitung*, 1927 (July 24). April 26, 1915 (Garoet); May 9, 1915 (Garoet); *Die literarische Welt*, Berlin, III, 29 (July 22, 1927).

to ELISABETH DAUTHENDEY: January 20, 1906 (Bombay); March 12, 1906 (Ceylon); March 22, 1906 (Ceylon); April 13, 1906 (Macao); April 26, 1906 (Kioto); August 11, 1914 (Amboina); April 7, 1915 (Garoet); *Jugend*, München, 1919, no. 5, pp. 86, 87.

to RICHARD DEHMEL: Spring of 1893 (Qville, Sweden); November 12, 1895 (Stockholm); also excerpts from letters of November 16, 1893 (Stockholm), fall of 1895 (Stockholm), February 22, 1895 (Stockholm); *The Germanic Review*, IV, 1 (January, 1929), pp. 82–85.

to OTTO GOETZE: February 9, 1892 (Berlin); *Berliner Mittag*, December, 1928. July 2, 1894 (Berlin); *Der Jungdeutsche*, July, 1928.

to JULIUS HART: October, 1911; *Der Tag*, Berlin, 1911, no. 503 (October 3).

to KORFIZ HOLM: March 24, 1915 (Garoet); *Frankfurter Zeitung*, vol. 59, no. 121 (May 2, 1915).

to GERTRAUD ROSTOSKY: September 7, 1915 (Garoet); *Das literarische Echo*, vol. 23, no. 10 (February 15, 1921), columns 581–586. Excerpts from letters of March 24, April 8, 17, 19, 1914, January 18, 1916, appeared in *Der Tag*, Berlin, 1927, no. 177 (July 26). An excerpt from another letter of September 7, 1915 (Garoet), appeared in *Würzburger General-Anzeiger*, 1927, no. 167 (July 25), p. 3.

to KARL WILLY STRAUB: Summer 1914 (Batavia); *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 1921, no. 308.

to ARNOLD VILLINGER and SIEGFRIED LOEWENTHAL: December 5, 1892; January 19, February, 1893 (Berlin); November 12, 1894 (Stockholm): *Die Neue Rundschau, XXXIX. Jahrgang der freien Bühne*, 1 (January, 1928), pp. 51–65.

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3. Februar 1916 Garoet (Java)
Hotel Papandajan

Meine liebe Schwester,

eben bekomme ich den Brief Deiner lieben Tochter Carrie,[1] der mich sehr glücklich machte. Du weißt nicht, wie oft und viel ich in dieser Zeit an Dich u. Deine Kinder gedacht habe.

Ich bin nun bald zwei Jahre von zu Hause fort, und immer noch nicht kann ich zu meiner lieben Frau nach Hause kommen, des Krieges wegen.

Als der Krieg ausbrach, war ich eben auf einer Reise in der deutschen Kolonie Neu-Guinea, südlich von Japan, nördlich von Australien.

Ich bin Ostern 1914 von Berlin abgereist und wollte im September 1914 wieder zu Hause sein.

Aber im August 1914 wurde ich auf den Molukken-Inseln vom Krieg überrascht. Ich flüchtete zuerst nach Sumatra und dann nach Java.

In Sumatra wurde ich als deutscher Dichter und Schriftsteller sehr liebenswürdig von allen deutschen Pflanzern aufgenommen.

Im Frühling 1915 wollte ich versuchen nach Amerika und vielleicht zu Dir oder zu Carrie zu flüchten.

Denn das heiße Klima ist meinem Herzen nicht gesund u. ich sehne mich nach kühler Luft, um aufatmen zu können.

[page 2] Ich wollte in Amerika in den deutschen Vereinen Gedichte vorlesen. Aber man hat mir die Abreise von hier noch nicht erlaubt.

Meine Frau ist in Deutschland bei allen hohen Persönlichkeiten gewesen u. hat mir einen Freibrief erwirken wollen.

Das Auswärtige Amt in Berlin hat an die englische Regierung zwei Mal wegen mir geschrieben.

Selbst Lord Haldane, u. Lord Courtney, Freunde von dem englischen Minister Grey, haben für mich gebeten. Auch der berühmte englische Schriftsteller Bernard Shaw hat versucht für mich zu sprechen.

Auch der schweizerische Schriftstellerbund[2] hat versucht mich frei zu bekommen, aber alles war umsonst.

Du kannst Dir denken, was meine arme Frau alles ausgehalten hat.

Zuerst lebte sie bei ihrer Mutter, dann reiste sie in Deutschland und Holland im Sommer 1915 herum, um mich zu befreien.

Ach, dieser traurige Krieg!

Alle unsere Verwandten in Petersburg[3] sind nach Sibirien verschleppt worden. Und niemand weiß wohin.

Liebe Anna, ich glaube aber doch, daß ich Dich und die lieben Deinigen noch in diesem Jahr 1916 in Philadelphia sehen werde. Ich will, sobald ich kann, u. sobald es Frieden wird, über Amerika nach Hause reisen.[4]

[page 3] Es wäre wunderschön, wenn wir beide uns endlich einmal wieder umarmen könnten. Ich werde nächstes Jahr schon fünfzig Jahre alt u. habe schon viele graue Haare bekommen. Aber in meinem Herzen bin ich noch ganz Dein junger Maxel.

Du wirst mich trotz aller Sorgen, die ich jetzt durch den Krieg hatte, fröhlich sehen. Es tat mir so leid, daß Du mir keinen Gruß an den Brief Deiner lieben guten Carrie geschrieben hast. Seit der Krieg ausgebrochen ist, habe ich auch von Elise[5] nichts mehr gehört. Es gehen so viele Briefe verloren.

Ich wohne hier in Java in einer kleinen sehr schön gelegenen Gebirgsstadt Garoet. 2300 Fuß über dem Meere. Ich wohne in einem deutschen Hotel. Aber die Europäer auf Java sind alles Holländer. Und alle Zeitungen hier erscheinen in holländischer Sprache geschrieben. Die holländischen Kapitäne u. Schiffahrtsgesellschaften weigern sich, wegen den Engländern, deutsche Passagiere mit auf ihre Schiffe zu nehmen.

Und die Engländer holen die Deutschen auch von den holländischen Schiffen und setzen sie in Gefangenschaft nach Australien.

Alles das ist sehr quälend u. schlimm.

[page 4] Ich habe hier in meiner Gefangenschaft ein Gedichtbuch geschrieben mit Kriegsgedichten, das haben die deutschen Vereine in Sumatra u. auf Java drucken lassen. Das Buch heißt: „Des großen Krieges Not."[6]—Hier im Hotel sind öfters durchreisende Amerikaner und immer, wenn ich sie sprechen höre, muß ich an Euch in Philadelphia denken.

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Wenn ich in San Franzisko ankomme, will ich Euch gleich telegraphieren.
Ich freue mich so sehr auf Dich u. die lieben Deinen.
Ein guter Gott hat der lieben Carrie den guten Gedanken gegeben, mir zu schreiben. Ich war so froh und sehr beglückt über den verwandtschaftlichen lieben Gruß, der heute vor einer Stunde hier ankam. Der Brief war 1½ Monat unterwegs.
Möge es Dir gesundheitlich recht gut gehen, liebe Anna. Ich freue mich, daß Du so gute tüchtige Kinder hast. Sei herzlich umarmt und mit allen Deinen Lieben

treu gegrüßt
von Deinem Bruder
Max.

Willst Du nicht auch mal
an mich schreiben?

Notes

[1] Mrs. Carrie Frazier, Dauthendey's niece.

[2] Literally no stone was left unturned to secure permission for the poet's return. All these appeals were, however, to be in vain. The eminent English author and critic Edmund Gosse who had been approached in this matter expressed his attitude in a letter to the Editor of the London Times, Wednesday, November 3, 1915, no. 41,002, p. 13, as follows: "I confess that, however blameless and elderly a German poet may be, his fate at present leaves me cold."

[3] Dauthendey's mother, née Caroline Friedrich (May 11, 1837, St. Petersburg–July 11, 1873, Würzburg), belonged to a German-Russian émigré family.

[4] The poet never left Java. He died in Malang on August 29, 1918, at the age of 51 after an operation for a malignant tumor, his general resistance having been lowered through the anguish of four years of separation from his beloved Würzburg and from those he held dear. The date of his death is generally given incorrectly as September 3 or 4, 1918, in literary histories, handbooks and encyclopedias.

[5] Elisabeth Dauthendey, one of the poet's four stepsisters, author of the much discussed work *Vom neuen Weibe und seiner Liebe* (1900); *Zweilebig* (1901); *An den Ufern des Lebens* (1915); etc.

[6] *Des großen Krieges Not.* Medan (Sumatra), 1914; augmented edition, Batavia (Java), 1915. A. Schellenberg, in an article entitled "Max Dauthendey. Die beiden Ausgaben 'Des großen Krieges Not'" (*Hellweg*, Essen, II, 21, May 24, 1922, pp. 401–404), quite gratuitously assumes the identity of these two editions. The work also appeared in Munich (Langen Verlag) in 1915.

H. G. Wendt

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BOOK REVIEWS

Christian Rogge, *Der Notstand der heutigen Sprachwissenschaft.* München: Max Hueber, 1929. xii + 224 pp.

The distressing plight in which, according to this author, our linguistic science finds itself today is due to the neglect of certain psychological factors. The subtitle of the work reads: "Eine Einführung in die Psychologie des sprachschaffenden Menschen." The work itself represents, for the most part, the résumé of a series of twenty-six articles which since 1921 have appeared in eleven different psychological and linguistic journals and which the author conspicuously lists at the beginning of his work.

The author's case against the generally accepted tenets of our linguistic science may be briefly summed up as follows: Whereas Wilhelm von Humboldt, the father of the science of language, rightly emphasized the oneness of the functions of speaking and thinking, his successors Schleicher, Grimm, Scherer, etc., following the methods of investigation in the natural sciences, developed mainly the purely phonetic and physiological side of language. The psychological, while in later times receiving increasingly more attention, is still regarded as secondary to the phonetic. Our science of language today lacks a fundamental principle which will serve to explain all linguistic phenomena. This fundamental principle our author claims to have found, although he gives von Humboldt credit for having been the first to enunciate it. It is the principle that at the basis of every linguistic change there is a psychological association, i.e., an analogy. Contamination, word-formation, morphology, phonology, changes in meaning and syntax are all varied forms of analogy. Any new formation, whether phonetic or semantic, is always the product of the association of synonymous words or expressions. To explain any linguistic change, therefore, one need only look for the proper synonym and the particular change, of whatever kind, will be accounted for.

Now this type of change is well known to linguists, principally in what are called contaminations or blends. (Cf. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*[5], p. 110 ff.) With these the author begins his discussion since they illustrate most obviously his principle. His criticism of Schroeder's *Streckformen* is fairly apt, since many of the latter's examples are pure blends as has been pointed out before by others (cf. Wood, *Modern Philology*, IX, 157–194; *JEGP*, XI, 293–328). His explanation of the accent of *lutherisch* by analogy with *katholisch* (p. 126 f) and of *lebendig* as influenced by such forms as *leibhaftig*, *wahrhaftig*, etc., at least seems reasonable. A number of his blends may be acceptable though by no means certain, e.g., *klinseln* = *klagen* + *winseln; klabastern* = *klappern* + *rabastern* (why not *klastern?* cf. *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 181), etc. When, however, he considers *weimern* (p. 39) a blend of *weinen* + *jammern*, he fails to take into account that it represents older *wîmern*, whereas the vowel of *weinen* is Germ. *ai*. Similarly *knirren* is erroneously regarded as a blend of *knirschen* + *knarren*, *knurren*, instead of simply a secondary ablaut form of the last two words, *knirschen* itself being a probable extension of *knirren* (cf. MHG *zerknirsen*). Entirely untenable are: *Base* = *Wase* + *Bruder* and *barsch* = *beissend* (bitter) + *harsch* (rauh). And when he carries his idea of blends to the

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point of regarding *grob* as a contamination of *grōz* (MHG?) in the meaning of French *gros* (sic) + *derb*, or shows so naive a conception of the relation of dialects as to regard *böse* a blend of Goth. *balwa* + NHG *lose* "zuchtlos" (p. 192), one begins to wonder whether to take him seriously. In his eagerness to emphasize the psychological association of words he loses all historical perspective, as when he regards NHG *Mund* a blend of *mul* (read *mūl*, OHG *mūla*?) + *hand*, because, as he holds, hand and mouth were always closely associated. He doesn't see the difficulty of explaining Goth. *munþs* (**mūlō* + *handus*?), or OE *mūð* (*mūl*—[not recorded] + *hand*?), or ON *munnr* (*mūle* + *hǫnd*?) in the same manner, because, no doubt, he was concerned at the time with explaining only the High German word.

The application of his principle to the development of meaning leads the author to discard altogether the idea of a gradual change of meaning and to speak of each semantic change as a sudden development due to the association of a synonym. It is not clear at all from his discussion just how his principle works, which is disappointing because it is particularly in this field that one might expect something of value in the application of analogy to change of meaning (cf. the reviewer's article "Analogy as a Factor in Semantic Change," *Language*, II, 35–45). In discussing the specialization of meaning in MHG *hōchzīt* (through association with *ēhe* and *hīrat*) he is more interested in phonetic influences which these words have had on each other than the actual change of meaning; e.g., change of gender in *hīrat* to fem. because of the other two, and the change of *ī* to NHG *ei* through the influence of the *e* in *ēhe* (sic). *Jünger*, "disciple," he thinks of as influenced to this meaning because of association with *Meister*, whereas it is undoubtedly due to semantic analogy with MLat. *junior*, "discipulus."

But the crowning achievement in uncovering the sad plight of our linguistic science is the author's attempt to account for certain phonetic changes in words. Thus the *u* of NHG *Durst* can be explained only because of its association with *Hunger* (70), the *ū* of *dūrstet* through the *ū* of *gelūstet*, etc. Rhotacism in the Latin is untenable, the *r* of *gero* (gessi, gestum) is due to analogy with *fero*. Likewise NHG *frieren* (MHG *friesen*) gets its *r* from association with *erwärmen*, *war* (MHG *was*) through influence of *ward*, while *Wesen* keeps its *s* because it was uninfluenced by a synonym. NE *night* (Goth. *nahts*) gets its *i* by analogy with *light*. He is undisturbed by the fact that the *i* was already present in OE *niht*, whereas *light* was OE *leoht*. OE *stān* becomes *stone* through association with *holt*, or *wood*, or *forest* (100). His total ignorance of the application of Verner's law about which he talks glibly is further illustrated by the following: He accounts for the spirantic *th* in NE *brother* through the analogy of the second *s* in *sister*, pointing with satisfaction to a similar influence in Goth. *broþar: swistar*. Our query as to why the *s* in *Schwester* would not do the same for *Bruder* he answers by pointing out that the NHG word was influenced not by *Schwester* but by *Schwager*, thus accounting for the *d* in *Bruder*. The *l* in NE *child* as over against NHG *Kind* is due to association with *calf*, the NHG also associating *Kinder und Kälber*, but here the author does not explain why the same influence does not affect *Kind*.

The foregoing are a few illustrations from many which might have been chosen from the work of this linguistic Don Quixote. Nowhere does he make a consistent effort to overturn conclusively any one of the phonetic principles against which he so courageously charges. Always his examples are isolated cases chosen from this or that field of linguistics; often they are accompanied by a sweeping criticism of the existing linguistic conceptions. And yet Rogge is apparently widely read in lin-

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guistic literature, having covered not only the Germanic but also the Latin, Romance and the Greek in his investigations. In spite of this, there is no indication that he understands even the most elementary sound shifts, if we are to judge, for example, from his discussion of NHG *Tod* (p. 84). After explaining the mutation of the vowel in NHG *Engel* < *angel* (*angilus* (sic))—he means OHG *engil* < *angil* (MLat. *angelus*, ἄγγελος)—through association with *tiuval* (the devil being a fallen angel), and after informing us that the *t* of *tiuval* comes from association with *Tot* (*Tot und Teufel*!) (sic), he innocently asks, "und woher der Anlaut *t* bei *tôt* gegenüber got. *daujan*?" (he probably means *daupjan*, but why not *daupus*?).[1] Alas, a synonym with initial *t* to explain the *t* in *tôt* has failed him here!

It is hard to believe that such linguistic hodgepodge should be taken seriously, least of all in Germany, but since the editors of linguistic journals of high repute, such as Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, *Zf.f.d.Ph.* and *Teuthonista* have opened their pages to his articles, they cannot but have come to the attention of a large class of students of language. As a matter of fact, his principle of linguistic change brought about by the psychological interference of synonymous ideas is sound and in the reviewer's opinion has by no means received the attention it deserves. But if the author had had even a moderate grounding in linguistics, he would not have tried to apply his principle so universally in utter disregard for other linguistic principles which are destined to stand in spite of his commendable but misdirected industry.

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Aus Tiecks Novellenzeit. Briefwechsel zwischen Ludwig Tieck und F. A. Brockhaus. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Lüdeke von Möllendorff. (Aus dem "Archiv F. A. Brockhaus," herausgegeben von Hermann Michel, Bd. 3.) Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1928. vi, 221 pp.

With this work Professor Lüdeke of St. Gall, Switzerland, has made the most important contribution to a better knowledge and understanding of Ludwig Tieck since the appearance of his own monograph *Ludwig Tieck und das alte englische Theater* (Frankfurt, 1922). He publishes here for the first time the text of all the accessible Tieck letters found in the Verlagsarchiv of Brockhaus and numerous pertinent quotations from the letters and diaries of the older Friedrich A. Brockhaus, his son Heinrich and other members of the family.

We see how a mutual interest in Shakspere and the Elizabethan drama first brought Tieck and the founder of the firm together. Then we follow the steps leading gradually to the partial publication of *Shakespeares Vorschule*, and get a picture of the project as a whole. In a longer but no less interesting section we note the development of the long and enduring friendship of Tieck and Heinrich Brockhaus and learn that Tieck would never have finished some of his best novellen had it not been for the constant encouragement and insistence of his ever magnanimous, long-suffering patron.

Additional light is also shed upon the development of Tieck's new art form, the novelle, upon the genesis of individual tales, and upon the changes which Tieck's own literary views slowly underwent. Though he would never have admitted it, these views came ever closer to those of Young Germany.

[1] The reader is constantly puzzled by the author's loose manner of putting down forms. Not only is his orthography often at fault but OHG, MHG and NHG forms are usually given without any designations whatsoever.

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In the last section we have the fascinating story of the vicissitudes of Tieck's library during the last decade of his life, how it was mortgaged and, in effect, sold to Brockhaus, then by a remarkable instance of a poet's irresponsible but well-intentioned double-dealing ceded to Asher to be auctioned off, and finally, through the efforts of the lavish King Frederick William IV of Prussia, restored, in part at least, to its original owner. The final and crowning chapter of the story of Tieck's library, however, escaped Lüdeke and will be recounted by the reviewer in another place.

In addition, the last section of the book reveals in a striking manner the multitude and variety of literary projects which haunted Tieck's mind almost to the day of his death.

Valuable bibliographical comments and an index bring the handsome little volume to a close.

The arrangement of the book is very good. The letters are published in chronological order, but instead of the usual explanatory notes, more learned than readable, all exegetic matter is printed in the form of coherent prefaces to the individual letters. This renders the book much more attractive to the layman and in no wise mars its usefulness for the scholar.

Lüdeke has utilized only the material which the firm of Brockhaus could find in its archives. The present reviewer discovered an additional letter from Tieck to Heinrich Brockhaus of December 31, 1847, in the Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek of Hamburg. This was published by Percy Matenko in the *Germanic Review*, IV, 3 (July, 1929), p. 305 f., and should be inserted on page 158 of Lüdeke's book. I avail myself of this opportunity to publish, by way of supplement, three more letters of Tieck to Heinrich Brockhaus which seem also to have escaped Lüdeke's notice. I do so with the consent of my collaborators in the project of editing Tieck's letters, Professor R. H. Fife of Columbia University, and Mr. Percy Matenko of Hunter College. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Dr. Wilhelm Frels of Leipzig for calling our attention to two of these items.

I

The first bears the date of June 1, 1832. The original is in the Goethe-Museum at Frankfurt, with the kind permission of whose director, Dr. Ernst Beutler, it is here published. It should be inserted on page 82 of Lüdeke's book, where there is a reference to it based, however, not upon the letter itself but upon Brockhaus' reply of June 4.

Geehrter Freund,

Trotz vielfacher Störungen habe ich die versprochene Novelle für Sie angefangen u bin vorgeschritten: gewähren Sie mir nun einige Tage noch Ruhe, so werden Sie einen Theil davon wenigstens im Verlauf der neuen Woche erhalten. Diese Geschichte wird aber gewiß 6, vielleicht 7 Bogen betragen, u ich kan sie unmöglich abkürzen, wenn sie interessant bleiben soll.

Also nächstens den Anfang von einigen Bogen. Leben Sie wohl u verzeihn Sie den kleinen Aufenthalt. Sie hatten mir keine Aushängebog. gesandt, wie Sie versprachen, ich glaubte also nicht, daß die Sache schon so eilig seie.—Meine Grüße Ihrer liebenswürdigen Gattinn u allen d Ihrigen.

den 1" Jun. 32.

Ihr
L. Tieck.

The novelle in question is *Die Ahnenprobe*. As we learn from Lüdeke (p. 83) the first batch of manuscript finally reached Brockhaus about four weeks later—on June 27—after the latter had again prodded Tieck several times.

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2

The second letter, of October 23, 1832, should be inserted on page 85. Lüdeke makes no reference to it. The original, in the Kestner-Museum, Hannover, is printed with the kind permission of the directorate.

Geehrter Freund,

Ihre so sehr liebenswürdige Gattinn hat uns wieder durch vortrefliche Lerchen erfreut, und die schmeckende Zunge kann nur ungenügenden Dank für diese Delikatesse aussprechen. Die Gräfinn vereinigt ihre Worte mit den meinigen.

Die vielfachen Bücher habe ich aber noch nicht erhalten. Als C. Raumer hier war, wünschte er mir seine beiden Geographien, die größre und kleinere, zu geben. Wollen Sie vielleicht seinen guten Willen aus Ihrer eignen Freundschaft für mich erfüllen?

Die Novelle werden Sie bald erhalten: sie wird, ich irre nicht leicht, gerade 8 B. betragen, vielleicht einige Seiten mehr.—Bleiben Sie mit den Ihrigen gesund u heiter, empfehlen Sie mich dem Andenken Ihrer schönen u liebenswürdigen Gattinn.

Dr. d. 23" Octbr. 32. L. Tieck.

The books to which Tieck here refers had probably been promised him by Brockhaus upon his visit to Dresden in August or September (Lüdeke, *loc. cit.*). By C. Raumer is meant Karl, the younger brother of Friedrich. He was professor of geography at Erlangen. His "beide Geographien," both published by Brockhaus in 1832, are *Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Geographie* and *Beschreibung der Erdoberfläche.* The novelle of Tieck referred to is *Eine Sommerreise.* Despite Tieck's promise to furnish copy for it soon, Brockhaus did not receive the first batch until the following May (Lüdeke, p. 87).

3

The original of our last letter, dated May 8, 1841, is also in the Goethe-Museum at Frankfurt and is here printed with permission. It should be inserted on page 146 of Lüdeke's book. Tieck alludes to his impending trip to Berlin, undertaken at the invitation of Frederick William IV.

Verzeihung, geehrter Freund, wenn ich Ihnen schon wieder zur Last falle. Einliegenden Briefes Schreiber N a m e n kann ich durchaus nicht entziffern, u ich bitte Sie, ihm dies Blatt s c h n e l l zu senden, weil ich gern das Buch, das ich längst erwartete, g l e i c h haben u auf die Reise zum Studium mit nehmen möchte.

Verzeihung—leben Sie Alle wohl—ich reise in einigen Tagen.

Dr. Ihr
den 8" May ganz ergebner
1841. L. Tieck.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Werner Mahrholz. *Deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart. Probleme, Gestalten, Ergebnisse.* Berlin: Volksverband der Bücherfreunde. Wegweiser-Verlag, [1926].

Dies Buch hat, weil es nicht eigentlich im offnen Buchhandel zu kaufen ist, nicht den Nachhall und die Anerkennung gefunden, die es verdient. Es ist, meinem Empfinden nach, die beste Einführung in die Literatur und Geistesentwicklung der letzten fünf Jahrzehnte. Von Naumann und von der Leyen unterscheidet es sich in erster Linie dadurch, daß es zu einem breiten Publikum spricht, bei dem zwar ein hohes Niveau der Denkfähigkeit, aber keine spezifischen Fachkenntnisse vorausgesetzt werden. Das Fundament wird nicht im Leser angenommen, sondern in den Einleitungskapiteln über Aufklärung, Romantik, Klassizismus fest und sicher, aber ohne Umschweife hingelegt. Darauf erheben sich die drei Stockwerke Naturalismus, Neuromantik und Neuklassizismus, Expressionismus.

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Die Analyse der verschiedenen Epochen beginnt jedesmal mit der Besprechung ihrer Ideenwelt und Form, dann folgt eine Aufzeigung der einheimischen und ausländischen Ahnen; Hauptvertreter werden in ihren markantesten Werken vorgeführt, und wir sind genügend eingeweiht, um die Generation und Gesellschaft zu überblicken, die Summe zu ziehen und an den Ergebnissen das Plus und Minus zu buchen. Ähnlich macht es Soergel, aber bei ihm sprechen die Erscheinungen und Autoren, und die Fülle des Gebotenen verwirrt durch ein Nebeneinander des Starken und Schwachen (2 Bände mit 850 und 1000 Seiten!); es soll damit übrigens dem sehr verdienstvollen Werke nicht irgendwelcher Abbruch getan werden! Hier dagegen sind wir uns jederzeit der Persönlichkeit unseres Führers bewußt, der besonnen wählt, deutet, wertet, Zerstreutes sammelt und kürzt, Vereintes trennt, um der Entwicklung nicht vorzugreifen. Dabei versteht sich von selbst, daß man nicht überall mit ihm übereinstimmen mag. So ist, meiner Ansicht nach, die Zusammenlegung von Naturalismus und Impressionismus ein Fehler, durch den wir des Übergangs zur Neuromantik beraubt werden; auf diese Weise fallen impressionistische Werke teils der einen, teils der andern Richtung zu. Peter Altenberg gehört an den Anfang der Bewegung und nicht hinter Ricarda Huch, Polenz trotz des verhältnismäßig späten Datums seines *Büttnerbauer* (1895) ist ein Musterbeispiel für den Naturalismus Taine-Darwinischer Theorien und sollte von der eigentlichen Heimatkunst abrücken; nichts „Stimmnungsseliges" bei ihm und kein Sprengen fester Formen, wie es Mahrholz einmal dem Naturalismus unterlegt (S. 187), weil er den Impressionismus meint, dessen Theoretiker doch Mach ist. Ubrigens ist auf Seite 93 auf ein kommendes Kapitel (Schnitzler) hingewiesen, welches schon vorher, Seite 82, erledigt war.

Aber diese Einwürfe beziehen sich größtenteils auf Einzelheiten, über die sich streiten läßt und deren Wichtigkeit Mahrholz mit einem Hinweis auf eine Absicht leicht entkräften könnte, auf die Struktur des Buches. Wenn es einerseits seine Stärke ist, aus umfassender historischer Kenntnis und sicherer geisteswissenschaftlicher Erkenntnis heraus perspektivisch klar zu schauen, so eignet ihm andrerseits eine ungewöhnliche Kraft ordnender Vereinfachung und tektonischen Willens, die das Werk selbst künstlerisch durchformen. Es ist nicht nur die Gabe treffender Wesenserkenntnis und knapper Definitionen von Bewegungen, Formen, Zielen, die Gabe psychologischen Tiefblicks und gestaltender Charakteristik von Individuen und ihrer Werke, welche den Leser mit froher Neugier und unermüdetem Anteil fesseln; der Rhythmus der Gesamtdarstellung hält ihn in fast dramatischer Spannung, sodaß er mit dem Vierten Buche tatsächlich sich dem Gipfel nahen fühlt, der dann im Sechsten Kapitel, „Volkstum und Heimat," erreicht ist. Das ist kein Zufall; denn hier breitet der Verfasser seine ganze Liebe über Problem und Wiedergabe, hier zeigt sich am stärksten: er schreibt Nationalliteratur im besten Sinne, Nationalliteratur ohne Chauvinismus, für den Deutschen als verantwortlichen Bürger und Weltbürger, mit einer verstehenden Liebe selbst für den Verneiner und Verirrten (so für Heinrich Mann und Leonhard Frank), wenn sie nur wahr sind und das Echte wollen. Und man staunt, wieviel Erdhaftigkeit und Antäuskraft in unserm Zeitalter der Mechanisierung noch das alte Stammestum der Bayern, Schwaben, Franken und Sachsen zu gebären vermag.

Nun geht es abwärts. Aber der Kontrast des „Zwischenspieles," der Nihilismus Strindbergs und seine erschütternde Tragödie, gibt rückwärts neue Deutung, hält vorwärts auf den Expressionismus lebendiges Erwarten. Leistung fällt ab, wo bewußter Wille steigt. Selbst wo der Verfasser zweifelt, entläßt er uns noch mit gespannter Hoffnung.

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Die Büchertafel gibt erwünschte Auskunft über die wichtigsten Werke. Nur eine Bitte hätte ich hier, obwohl ich weiß, welche Arbeit sie bei moderner Dichtung bedeutet: die Hinzufügung der Erscheinungsjahre. Es wäre dringend zu wünschen, daß eine neue Auflage das Werk weitesten Kreisen zugänglich machte.

ERNST FEISE

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Georg Steinhausen. *Germanische Kultur in der Urzeit.* Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1927. RM. 3.–.

The fourth edition of Steinhausen's booklet takes into account the rich results of recent research, mainly prehistorical, up to the year of its appearance in 1927. For this reason reference could be made to Karl Schuchardt's *Alteuropa*, but not to his *Vorgeschichte von Deutschland*, which appeared only in 1928. Steinhausen's book, however, holds its own with Schuchardt's work because of its broader cultural viewpoint. It provides the minimum of early German history which every German teacher should know. Its rich bibliographical references make it specially valuable as an introduction to this period, as does also its objectively critical attitude which in the beginning is even somewhat overdone.

Steinhausen deals with the earliest Pre-Germanic and Germanic records up to the year 200 A.D. The main chapters treat of the settling and expansion of the Germanic tribes, Pre-Roman and Roman cultural influences, characteristics of the people, their religion, intellectual, social and domestic life.

F. W. KAUFMANN

SMITH COLLEGE

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* Continued from *The Germanic Review*, V, 1 (January, 1930). A list of abbreviations used is appended.

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Abbreviations

See *The Germanic Review*, V, 1 (January), pp. 107, 108, for list of abbreviations.

(BR) = brief review
tr. = translation

LYMAN R. BRADLEY
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

GÜNTHER KEIL
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* This list does not contain reviews of grammars and annotated editions.

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THE GERMANIC REVIEW

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WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT'S INFLUENCE ON SPIELHAGEN'S ESTHETICS

BY ARTHUR H. HUGHES

SPIELHAGEN'S interest in the classic art of antiquity dates back to his boyhood in Stralsund. At the age of twelve he became acquainted with the Odyssey and his devotion to Homer increased steadily during his youth. Indeed, even the most casual reading of his critical works cannot fail to impress upon one's mind Spielhagen's profound knowledge of the Greek epics. Quotations from Homer and illustrations taken from the Odyssey and Iliad are always at hand and the Homeric epic remains for Spielhagen "das erquicklichste aller epischen Gebilde." [1] As a youth Friedrich Spielhagen pursued the study of the Greek classicists in such a way as Goethe and Schiller must have once pursued them.

University studies did not cause this love for Homer to wane. Spielhagen registered at Bonn as a student of law, but still found time to devote to other matters, and the same thing held true after his return to Berlin in 1850. Here he renewed his love for classical antiquity and here it was that his interest in esthetics was awakened. During this time he acquired a secondhand copy of Wilhelm von Humboldt's *Ästhetische Versuche* (Braunschweig, 1799) and read and reread this work, studying it carefully. It is, of course, quite obvious that Spielhagen would be attracted to Humboldt from the first, for Humboldt also saw in Greek classicism the true model for all of the formative arts. If Humboldt had influenced Spielhagen in no other way than to incite him to become conscious of and to

[1] *Neue Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik der Epik und Dramatik*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 27. This work is cited below as "Epik."

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formulate his esthetic ideas, that fact alone would be worthy of mention, but direct traces of Humboldt's influence are noticeable throughout all of Spielhagen's critical works; in fact, the general outline of Spielhagen's esthetic doctrine is so similar to the principles of the *Ästhetische Versuche* that one can maintain that Humboldt's influence extended itself indirectly over all of Spielhagen's contributions to the field of criticism. To be sure, Spielhagen introduced into his works much that was new, but it must unfortunately be admitted that "das Wahre ist nicht neu, und das Neue ist nicht wahr," at least from the point of view of Spielhagen's heyday, the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The first direct result of this reading of the *Ästhetische Versuche* was the awakening of Spielhagen's interest in esthetics in general, and he soon became conversant with the principles of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller and Friedrich Schlegel, but he did not approve wholly of these principles, or at any rate he quotes them largely through the medium of Humboldt.

It is also quite possible that Spielhagen's decision to record his esthetic ideas and his experiences as an author may be traced, perhaps indirectly, to a passage in the *Ästhetische Versuche*. In the essay "Finder oder Erfinder" [2] Spielhagen assures us:

"However clear-sighted and learned these men (Lotze, Ritter, Vischer) may be . . . , still they were or are not poets and artists themselves. They have not been able to observe in themselves the mental proceedings which they depict and that very thing seems to me to be a decisive point in this case, where it is a question of such a deep-hidden mystery as the origin and growth of a work of art in the mind of an artist. In this connection I have called to mind over and over again an important saying of Wilhelm von Humboldt. Humboldt believes that an artist, striving toward a certain goal, cannot derive much benefit from esthetics, but only from his own experience and the experience of others."

There follows a verbatim citation from the *Ästhetische Versuche* [3] to this effect:

[2] *Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik des Romans*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 7. This work is cited below as "Roman."

[3] "Einl.," p. 6.

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"Even experience will be able to furnish an author only with isolated fragments, disconnected rules, which are lacking not only in completeness but also in universal validity. Nevertheless, it is important that these rules and fragments be collected and brought into order, and everyone who is enabled by his talent to follow an artistic career with marked success should record carefully those things which he has verified during such a career. In this way he would perform an essential service not only to art, but also to philosophy. An esthetician makes use of such 'poetical' confessions, just as a psychologist makes use of 'moral' confessions, and every esthetician rejoices at the opportunity of observing an artist's soul and temperament through direct contact—for otherwise such things appear only dimly in an artist's works."

Spielhagen, in commenting upon this passage, thinks that Humboldt refers here only to those rules which may be of value to an artist in the course of his work, rules for the acquisition of skill in exercising an art or craft. Schiller once expressed the wish that he might devote a couple years of his studies in philosophy to the acquiring of such rules. This information alone, however, is not sufficient, says Spielhagen, for all artists obtain during the course of their work a theoretical insight into the nature of their creations, and this is certainly just as important as the practical experiences which Humboldt would like to have recorded.

Whether or not the reading of the *Ästhetische Versuche* played any part in Spielhagen's decision to put in writing the principles of his esthetics, the fact remains that his conception of art in general is almost identical with that of Humboldt. A definition of the nature, the essence of art must form the very kernel of any estheticism, and in the light of the following passages, one can have no doubt that both Spielhagen and Humboldt built the structures of their esthetics upon the self-same foundation.

According to Humboldt,[4] the true artist must destroy our every thought of reality, our imagination alone must be kept active. He may change but little in the content and form of the object that he is depicting, however. If we are to recognize

[4] *Ästhetische Versuche*, p. 12 ff.

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nature in the picture he paints, then he must copy nature very faithfully; in other words, he has no choice but to exercise his skill upon the subject he wishes to influence, namely the reader. The soul, inspired by imagination, soars high above reality. Art, then, consists of the ability to make the imagination productive, to fertilize it in conformity with certain laws. To inflame imagination by means of imagination is the secret of the artist, for in order to force our imagination to recreate the object which he describes, the artist must produce that object directly from his own mind. However true the object may be to its original in nature, too, it is nevertheless at the same time an individual creation of the artist, inasmuch as it has passed through his imagination. Incidentally, these sentences contain one of the essential differences between the theories of Humboldt and Schiller, for Schiller maintains that an artist may alter the form and content of an object in nature to suit his own ideas and needs.

Spielhagen's definitions of art agree in every respect with those of Humboldt. He subscribes wholeheartedly to the principles cited above, in theory at any rate, and these ideas are often expressed in his essays on esthetical subjects. Two of the more striking passages will suffice to show the similarity, although it would be easy to collect a larger number. Spielhagen sums up the ideas in his treatise "Finder oder Erfinder" [5] in this way: The truth is that he (the artist) cannot use an object as it is "given" (i.e., in its original, natural state); every atom of material derived from experience must first be fertilized by the imagination. In the essay "Epic Poetry and Goethe" [6] we find the same thought. The condition which can and must be applied to a true "poetic work" (work of art) is that such a work must be a product of the imagination, both in its entirety and in every single detail. In its entirety, for only imagination, which looks forward and backward, can attain a survey of a complicated structure; in every detail, for if it is true (and Spielhagen believes it is true) that poetry has no other means of animating characters than to represent the actions of such

[5] "Roman," p. 34.
[6] "Epik," p. 56.

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characters, then the author's imagination alone will be successful in that representation. A mere prosaic description will not suffice. One can say of the portraits produced by the arts of painting and sculpture that they have life only by virtue of the inward "action," which in the present as well as the past time has dug its traces into these countenances.

There is hardly any need for comment upon these passages. Both Humboldt and Spielhagen assert that imagination is the organ of art and build their esthetic structures upon this foundation. These structures differ from one another, to be sure, a fact that is easily explained by the times in which they lived and the purposes they wished to serve. Humboldt is concerned in the *Ästhetische Versuche* chiefly with Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*, whereas Spielhagen's esthetics deal largely with the novel. Humboldt finds that there are some points in *Hermann und Dorothea* which cannot be explained satisfactorily from the point of view of classic epic poetry, and saves himself by calling the work a "bürgerliche Epopöe"; the fact remains, however, that Humboldt saw in Goethe's epic poem only an attempt to imitate the Odyssey and Iliad. Spielhagen, on the contrary, inclines toward the point of view of Schiller, namely that "an epic poem in the eighteenth century must be quite different from one in the childhood of the world." Indeed, Spielhagen goes so far as to say that the novel is the only form of epic art which is available for a modern author, and *Hermann und Dorothea* is labeled a "Novelle." "As a matter of fact I do not know how else *Hermann und Dorothea* could be classified, unless one sees a criterion in the versification, which might cause one to put the work in another category, that we may call with Humboldt the 'bürgerliche Epopöe.' But I wish decidedly to object to such a procedure. Lyric poetry may stand or fall with its verse—the drama and epic rest on firmer ground." [7] This, however, is more of a difference in terminology than in meaning. Spielhagen is obviously thinking of the novel in this passage, but elsewhere [8] he says that in his opinion the "Novelle" is the basic form of all epic poetry, and Humboldt would certainly agree that *Hermann und Dorothea* conforms with all the rules

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[8] "Roman," p. 48, footnote.

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of the "basic form of epic poetry"; then, too, we may compare a citation from the "Roman":[9] "the novelist is full of the element of dispassionate, universal observation—Humboldt has demonstrated that so well in his book about *Hermann und Dorothea.*" Here again we see that the opinions of Humboldt and Spielhagen do not diverge so much from one another when the former calls *Hermann und Dorothea* a "bürgerliche Epopöe" while the latter insists upon the term "Novelle."

The actual definition of the nature of epic art and the comparison with the other arts is quite similar in Spielhagen and Humboldt. Spielhagen's views about this subject are presented most clearly in the "Roman":[10]

"Above all, however, the novelists are perhaps in the most favorable position of all artists, because no other art, no other branch of poetry can withstand the terrific competition of the sciences so well, or as we expressed it before, no other art offers such a convenient, abundant means for the purposes of modern mankind as the epic art. This is due to the peculiar ability of the epic imagination to put man in the background of nature, in connection with and dependent upon the stipulations of culture, i.e., to see him in the same way he is seen by modern science.

No other art does that, at least not to the same extent nor with the same energy; it might even seem doubtful whether that which I have established here as the theme, the problem of epic art: the objectivation, the representation of man, is really the task of art in general. To be sure, this must be maintained, even though in a different sense in connection with each art: music, which seems to lie apart from the other arts only because, ascending directly from the depths of the human soul, it may enter into no lasting relation with the world of the senses and because it dies away with the tone through which it is born and formed; architecture, which builds houses for mankind, and in its highest development, for gods, who created man after their image; painting, which even where it does not animate its pictures with human beings, as for example in landscape-painting, nevertheless does not deny its intimate relation to mankind.

Man, then, again and again; man, who wishes to objectivate, to enjoy, to understand, to comprehend, to hear, to see himself

[9] P. 14.
[10] P. 41 ff.

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in every art, and who collects all this at one time in epic art, in which he tries to do and to possess all this at once.

This is the very essence of epic art—in contrast with its sister arts: lyric and drama, of which the former, without time and space, like music, hovers in the pure sphere of sensations. [Spielhagen makes here, of course, an exception of the ballad, which partakes of the epic form.]

. . . So it is, too, with the drama, at least with tragedy, whose characters Wilhelm von Humboldt once aptly compared with statues, which, after having descended from their pedestals, now speak and do in reality that which they formerly only seemed to speak and do."

These ideas are by no means axiomatic and would not have the approval of every esthetician, but they certainly resemble the principles of Humboldt. We may compare for example the passage in the *Ästhetische Versuche* where Humboldt asserts that the real poet works upon the imagination alone, causing it to create an object, that he sets up single forces in front of the imagination and shows to it in these forms the world and *mankind*.[11] There follows [12] a discussion of the relationship of the various arts to one another and the peculiar disadvantages of each art are listed. Again further on [13] we find very nearly the same thought we had in the Spielhagen passage, namely that if one divests an epic poem of its poetic dress, there remains that which history offers when it is discussed ingeniously and that which descriptions of nature present when they are given in the abstract—*a complete survey of mankind* and nature combined. The epic poet, says Humboldt, occupies a position higher than that of any other kind of poet and enjoys the most extensive view, and among all the kinds of poetry the epic is the most capable of reconciling man with life and making him fit for his daily tasks.

Another passage of the "Roman" [14] also illustrates the similitude of the views of Spielhagen and those of Humboldt as far as a definition of epic art is concerned. Spielhagen holds that everyone is bound to admit that Humboldt's famous

[11] P. 31.
[12] P. 34.
[13] Pp. 134, 135.
[14] P. 50.

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definition of the epic,[15] drawn from the analysis of epic imagination and from the observation of the Homeric poems, treats excellently of the esthetic impression but contains too much subjectivity and could perhaps be improved as follows: An epic poem in its highest state of perfection is the poetic and narrative representation of mankind, as far as mankind manifests itself in one nation in one given epoch. The original version of Humboldt, which Spielhagen also cites here, is to this effect: One could define an epic poem as a poetical representation of an action by means of narration, which puts our minds in the state of the most animated and most general observation. There is certainly little difference between these two descriptions of the essence of epic art, and Spielhagen evidently forgets later that he had altered Humboldt's definition, for he uses it afterward to clinch a point in an article about humor in the novel.[16] In this same article he proceeds to say that Humboldt should be consulted for the only legitimate method of utilizing this formula.[17] In speaking of the "epic imagination" mentioned above Spielhagen says: "thus we come with Wilhelm von Humboldt to the conclusion that the artist sees and must see mankind (which is the problem of every art) through the medium of calm, clear, objective observation." [18]

We may realize thus that the views of Humboldt and Spielhagen concerning art in general and epic art in particular are identical. As we might expect, however, discrepancies begin to appear when they treat of the practical applications of epic art—quite naturally, for Humboldt is interested in *Hermann und Dorothea* and Spielhagen in the nineteenth century novel. In spite of this, there are divers other subjects which show the close connection of their esthetic doctrines, and this connection is perhaps most clear in their ideas about objectivity.

It would be difficult to conceive of a more objective art than that demanded by Spielhagen in the "Epik": [19] "What do I insist upon in a 'poetic' novel?" asks Spielhagen. "This: that

[15] *Ästhetische Versuche*, p. 126.
[16] "Roman," p. 108.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[19] P. 55.

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it recognize first—and I should like to add, last—like the Homeric epic, only active characters, behind whom the poet disappears completely and without exception, so that he may not offer even the most trivial opinion in his own right: neither about the affairs of the world nor about the way he wishes the reader to understand his work as a whole or in any part; least of all about his characters, who must display their natures, thoughts, and desires by their actions, by their speech or their silence and without his assistance." Elsewhere, however, Spielhagen does not insist upon so strict an observance of objectivity, particularly when he is confronted by concrete examples in the form of modern novels. At this point, too, it might be well to observe that Spielhagen's practice does not always coincide with his theory; in fact, even the most cursory reading of a novel by Spielhagen should suffice to convince the reader that those works are anything but objective. But in theory also Spielhagen does not exclude the possibility of a subjective treatment of material, for it is patent that otherwise he would have to deal with pure history and not with belletristic works. Humboldt, too, finds himself in the same quandary and is forced to leave loopholes for escape here and there when he insists upon objectiveness. Let us compare for example a passage in the *Ästhetische Versuche* [20] which contains the following thought: Like Homer and the classic authors, our poet (Goethe) obtains his effects by means of that which he really is in his work—by means of the forms and natures (i.e., the characters) in which he places himself calmly and modestly before the reader; *not*, however, like the more recent (Ariosto, for instance, and Spielhagen also objects to Ariosto in the "Epik" [21]) poets,—whose works are more romantic than epic,—by means of that which he does, sings and describes with the obvious purpose of influencing the reader. Throughout the *Ästhetische Versuche*, e.g., p. 202, we find mention of "severe and purely poetical objectivity," but the concluding chapter, a sort of summary of Humboldt's views, contains this statement: [22] The esthetician must consider "first, the objective possibility of esthetic 'Wirkungen,' and

[20] P. 82.
[21] P. 29 ff.
[22] P. 203.

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secondly the subjective possibility of esthetic 'Stimmungen.'" Nevertheless, comparatively speaking, both Humboldt and Spielhagen demand a high percentage of objectivity in a "true" product of epic art.

These two critics also develop their ideas about the reproduction of nature in epic poetry from the above passages. Spielhagen places emphasis upon a plastic and colorful reproduction of nature in which the characters are to be placed, and of the social milieu in which they are to move about, although this is a necessary result of the first cardinal principle of epic art (objectivity).[23] The actions of mankind manifest themselves in perpetual dependence upon nature and milieu, and these factors must be taken into account before the necessary completeness can be achieved, but of course with the understanding, only as far as this dependence is felt. If a spring morning has no significance for the active characters in a novel, then it does not exist for the author. An epic poet observes the world through the minds of his characters. We remember, however, from Spielhagen's definition of art that these characters are to be chosen for the effect they exercise upon the imagination of the reader, and if we keep this in mind we see that much the same thing is said in the *Ästhetische Versuche*.[24] Humboldt propounds the law of imitation of nature, which combines the concept of reality in the expression of nature with the concept that nature should not be represented as it really is—in other words, an imitation does not permit a complete agreement with the model but contains a vagueness which can be avoided only when an author perceives the nature of art not in the form of his model but in its effect upon the imagination. An artist should make nature an object of the imagination, and art is the representation of nature through the medium of the imagination. Such a representation must contain a metamorphosis of nature, for nature is transplanted to another sphere. The exact quality of the metamorphosis, however, is again determined by the imagination. Humboldt supports this thesis with practical illustrations taken from *Hermann und Dorothea*.[25]

[23] "Epik," pp. 55, 56.
[24] P. 18 ff.
[25] *Ästhetische Versuche*, pp. 195, 196.

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Another idea which is practically identical in the esthetic doctrines of Humboldt and Spielhagen is the socalled "Begriff der Totalität," the concept of totality. In the following lines from the "Roman" [26] we see how Spielhagen expresses his views about this subject. "Epic poetry," he maintains, "does not treat of man as he is pictured in his isolation, as an individual, in such and such a particular situation, filled with such and such a feeling, or in conflict with another individual as an active being spurred on by such and such a passion; it treats, on the contrary, of man in his entirety, of mankind, which exists in the very totality of all individuals." This is done "to obtain the broadest survey over human relations, to give the deepest insight into the laws which govern human life and harmonize the actions of mankind." [27]

There are two ways by which the writer of novels may attain this goal, which Spielhagen calls "epic totality."

The first is that he may introduce in his work character after character, may pile event upon event and fact upon fact, and may intertwine action after action. The other method, which Spielhagen condemns, would allow the author to reflect, to philosophize from time to time about that which he has written.

In the "Roman" Spielhagen compares the modern novelists with Homer.[28] In the works of the latter we may appreciate the absolute completeness and universal validity of the Homeric prototype and the consequent totality and convincing reality of the Homeric copy of that model. The modern writer of epics, who is held closely to his individual, i.e., limited experience, the result of untiring observation, face to face with an immeasurable and inexhaustible world, can scarcely be surprised if his work is not a true representation of his entire nation (his model). Elsewhere in Spielhagen's critical works we find similar statements—for example, in the "Epik," where we read: "The novelist, like the dramatist, must survey his story in its totality, and this is more difficult for him, for his plot is usually more complicated." [29]

[26] P. 48.
[27] "Roman," pp. 67, 68.
[28] P. 169.
[29] P. 57.

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Spielhagen's ideas about epic totality are identical with those of Humboldt as expressed in the *Ästhetische Versuche*. There we discover that,

"a great advantage of art is that it can free us from the inward and outward chains which weigh us down so often in real life; an even more noble advantage, however, is that art can give us in place of these chains a severe, but at the same time a liberal code of laws. The epic poet in particular can make use of this advantage of art, and in this he is helped most by the totality, the generality of the survey which he achieves. The higher we stand above our subject, in order to survey it as a whole, so much the less are we dominated by it, but also so much the more do we appreciate its coherence and order; and in no connection is the power of imagination so sure, so ideal—i.e., remaining orderly in the midst of its freedom—as in connection with the faculty of observation and with reason. The 'Epopöe,' however, suffers no dearth of objects; no method is as fruitful as that of the highest objectivity; for in order to render one form conspicuous one needs other forms placed at the side of the first one,—forms which precede the first form and which result from it." [30]

Yet another important concept in the esthetic doctrines of our two critics is that of ideality. Humboldt's application of this concept to the character of Dorothea, for instance, is to this effect:

"Through the depicting of Dorothea the poet has shown how well he can combine natural reality with true ideality. Dorothea is indeed just what she says of herself:

ein tüchtiges Mädchen,
Zu der Arbeit geschickt, und nicht von rohem Gemüthe.

That she is, if one considers her with the cold eye of the mere observer. But how much more does she seem to the eye of her lover, how much more to us, when we, inspired by the poet, observe her in the mirror of the imagination! Without altering in the least the original realistic picture, we may ascribe to her every womanly greatness, every womanly virtue, every womanly beauty, and all this will seem characteristic and proper in her."

It is easy enough, of course, to find similar passages in Spielhagen's works on the subject of esthetics,—the essay "Finder

[30] P. 169.

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oder Erfinder," for example, might be referred to,—but it is even more interesting to observe how Spielhagen applied this rule in practice. The ideality of the characters in Spielhagen's novels, indeed, scarcely requires discussion, for only too often Spielhagen has been reproached for this very thing. *Sturmflut*, perhaps, offers us the largest number of ideal characters. What is Reinhold Schmidt, for example, but a character to whom one may attribute every manly virtue and Else but a character to whom every womanly virtue may be ascribed? In a negative way, also, we can regard the Jesuit as an arch-villain, capable of almost every vice. And so it is with the other novels of Spielhagen. The idea of totality, too, finds its practical application, for Spielhagen must have had the "poetical perspective" in mind when he allowed years to elapse between the time of the composition of a work and the events described therein.

The need for unity in an epic would seem to be obvious, but it was not obvious to all of Spielhagen's contemporaries. Spielhagen himself believed in the strict observance of form, and at times he speaks bitterly of certain formless contemporary novels. His ideas about form he derived, no doubt, from his intimacy with classicism, but they also came indirectly through Wilhelm von Humboldt. Both writers demand unity and form in art, but both are willing to make certain exceptions in the case of the epic. Let us examine, for instance, the following statement in the "Roman":

"The second of the fundamental principles of the theory of epic art" [the first is the principle of "totality"] "is that the nature of epic imagination, which always tries to burst all bonds, must be contradictory to the nature of art. This nature of art draws boundaries for itself as soon as it goes to work and attains its goal only when it respects these boundaries." [31]

To support this argument Spielhagen adds a footnote taken from the *Ästhetische Versuche*.[32] Here Humboldt says that the unity of the epic poet lies more in his intent than in the subject itself. The end of his poem (for Spielhagen, of his novel) is not necessarily a real end, to which nothing more could be added.

[31] P. 133.
[32] P. 166.

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The illustrations which have been given above should suffice to show that Spielhagen and Humboldt stand side by side as estheticians. Humboldt, to be sure, faces backward and looks into the light of classical antiquity. Spielhagen, on the other hand, faces toward the future and attempts to take constructive steps, but is hampered by his own shadow, which prevents him from obtaining a clear view of his own creations or those of contemporary authors. An entire essay in the "Epik" deals with Gerhart Hauptmann's *Biberpelz*, for example, and this comedy is condemned because of the looseness of its form. Spielhagen treats other plays and novels of this time in the same manner. His attempts to measure works of art with a classical yardstick would doubtless have been successful in the eighteenth century, but they were not apt to meet with favor at the time of the ascendancy of naturalism.

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STILVERWIRRUNG IN SUDERMANNS *FRAU SORGE*

VON ERNST FEISE

„RETTUNGEN" sind in Zeiten einer Rück- und Umschau —wie die unsrige—zu erwarten und zu erhoffen. Kurt Busse hat in einem umsichtigen und maßvollen Buche[1] dem einst so erfolggekrönten und dann von der Kritik so scharf verfolgten Hermann Sudermann diesen Dienst geleistet; aber selbst seine Rettung ist voller Vorbehalte und zielt nur auf eine gerechtere Beurteilung. Der Dichter gehöre—meint er—eigentlich zu der Generation der Spielhagen, Freytag und Keller; der eigentliche Grund einer perspektivisch falschen Wertung sei der gewesen, daß in der *Ehre* die persönliche Entwicklung des Dramatikers sich mit der gleichzeitigen Literaturströmung vorübergehend geschnitten habe, und statt eines Vergleiches mit Hauptmann ergebe die Zusammenstellung mit Anzengruber den besseren Sichtungspunkt, allerdings mit dem Unterschiede, daß Anzengruber die stärkere Sinnlichkeit der Anschauung und eine genrehafte Beschaulichkeit, Sudermann der energischere Wille zur Struktur mit einer Neigung zum Dekorativen eigne.

In dieser Einschränkung liegt dann aber, meiner Meinung nach, das ganze Problem Sudermann beschlossen. Es ist nämlich nicht zu vergessen, daß Anzengruber, 1839 geboren, in die Generation der Dahn (*1834), Wolff (*1834), Wilbrand (*1837), L'Arronge (*1838), Lindau (*1839), Baumbach (*1840) gehört, über deren Gemeinschaft hinaus er sich so weit erhebt, daß er von den viel Jüngeren als ein Vorläufer und Wegbereiter anerkannt wird (siehe seine Aufführung auf der *Freien Bühne* 1891); steht er doch mit den Theoretikern seiner Zeit, die eben als Theoretiker stets langsamer zur Wirkung kommen, mit Haeckel (*1834), Franz Brentano (*1838), Mach (*1838), Schmoller (*1838) in Reih und Glied, während Sudermann

[1] Kurt Busse. *Hermann Sudermann. Sein Werk und sein Wesen.* Stuttgart und Berlin: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1927.

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(*1857) höchstens durch wenige Jahre von Carl Hauptmann (*1858), Polenz (*1861), Ruederer (*1861), Schnitzler (*1862), Gerhart Hauptmann (*1862), Holz (*1863), Bahr (*1863), Dehmel (*1863) getrennt ist und kaum Berührungspunkte mit den gleichaltrigen Lamprecht (*1856), Freud (*1856), Meineke (*1862), Max Weber (*1864) aufweist. Dann aber denke man an Anzengrubers einfaches Stilgefühl (außer etwa in *Elfriede*), an seine warme Menschlichkeit und sein tiefes Wurzeln in Volks- und Kunsttradition und vergleiche damit Sudermanns zwar selbstsichre, aber doch stets entgleisende Fertigkeit, seine unbewußt ironische, in seinen Stilmitteln durchaus verworrene Art, und der Unterschied tritt durchaus zugunsten des süddeutschen Dichters überwältigend hervor. Gewiß, Sudermann wird durch sein Losreißen aus heimischer Erde entwurzelt; seine Umgebung, der Ton der preußischen Großstadt erkältet und ertötet die auch in ihm wertvolle und kräftige Heimatkunst, die Tradition reißt ab im Anfange seines Schaffens. Das alles als Erklärungsgründe zugegeben. Aber die Tatsache bleibt, daß sein dekorativer Strukturwille peinlich an die forzierte Hohlheit der achtziger Gipsfassaden gemahnt, hinter denen sich öde die regelmäßige Mietskaserne der Bourgeoisie mit einer Aussicht auf kahle Brandmauern streckt; ihm fehlt das volle Innenleben einer gereiften Persönlichkeit, das sich nach außen in organisch gewachsener Form bezeugt, deren Gesetze wir Stil nennen.

Die Unsicherheit der Sudermannschen Art soll in seinem Roman *Frau Sorge* nachgewiesen werden. Dieses Werk hat von zünftiger wie akademischer Kritik einen ungeschmälerten Beifall erhalten und ist als wirkende Kraft im Enstehen der Heimatskunst von zweifelloser Bedeutung gewesen. Aber auch hier mischt sich Altes und Neues, Wahres und Falsches, Gekonntes und Gewolltes. Busse selbst erkennt dies in seiner Würdigung des Romans an, indem er von vornherein zwei Züge als unerlebt herauslöst, die Widmungsverse und die Gestalt des alten Meyhöfer, aber er zieht daraus keine weiteren Schlüsse.

„Diese Gestalt," sagt er von Pauls Vater, „ist überhaupt nicht erlebt. Gewiß, Züge von ihr, Ansätze ihres Wesens wird Sudermann an dem einen oder andern Mann seiner Heimat

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beobachtet haben, aber in der Auswahl und Ausprägung dieser Züge, in der Art, wie die Gestalt eingefügt ist in den Zusammenhang der andern Gestalten und der Fabel, verrät sich deutlich die Erfindung zum Zwecke des Kontrastes, zum Zwecke der klaren Sinngebung und Profilierung des Motivs." Trotzdem scheint mir dieser alte Projektenmacher eine der geschlossensten Schöpfungen Sudermanns, geboren aus der Zeit der Spekulationsjahre, sich uns erschließend aus seiner eignen Art zu reden ohne viele Züge analysierender Charakteristik, eine Kreuzung zwischen Mr. Micawber, Anzengrubers Schalanter und dem Hjalmar Ekdal der *Wildente*, unfähig, feige, zerfahren, stets bereit, die Schuld seiner verunglückten Unternehmungen auf das Schicksal, auf Weib und Kind, auf den Herrn Douglas abzuschieben, seine Wut an Untergebenen, an Tieren auszulassen, mit Selbstmord drohend, ohne Mut, ihn auszuführen und schließlich als Brandstifter endend, aber—Ironie des Schicksals—nicht einmal als solcher erfolgreich. Gestalten seiner Art sind Sudermann—vielleicht w e i l sie nur beobachtet sind—immer gelungen.

Schwerer wiegt indessen Busses Behauptung, daß die Widmung dem Leser eine Verbindung zwischen dem Werk und dem Leben des Autors nahelegen sollte, die in der Tat nicht vorhanden war. „ Die starke Wirkung des Buches erhöhte solche Vermutung zur scheinbaren Gewißheit; denn die ästhetische Wirkung eines Kunstwerkes setzen wir gern und unkritisch um in die näherliegende Begriffsreihe der Lebenswirklichkeit vom Wahrscheinlichen bis zum Tatsächlichen, Selbsterlebten" (Busse, S. 41). Ist dann aber diese Täuschung nicht ein offensichtlicher Betrug des Autors, ein dem Kunstwerke selbst völlig fremdes Mittel, eine captatio benevolentiae um des Erfolges willen? Die Widmung steht unbestreitbar außerhalb des Werkes, leitet nicht etwa eine Ich-Erzählung ein, sondern ist eingestandenermaßen Privatsache, eine Anrede an seine Eltern. Erlebnisstoff hat nun aber in dieser Zeit der documents humains erhöhten literarischen Wert, denn Wahrheit wird in den theoretischen Schriften Albertis und Bölsches[2] z.B. direkt für Schönheit

[2] Conrad Alberti. *Der moderne Realismus in der deutschen Literatur und die Grenzen seiner Berechtigung.* „ Deutsche Zeit- und Streitfragen," N. F. Jg. IV, H. 52. Hamburg, 1889. Wilhelm Bölsche. *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie.* Leipzig, 1887.

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gesetzt, und so dürfen wir wohl annehmen, daß neben dieser Widmung auch die künstlerische Absicht innerhalb des Romans auf starken Realismus wenn nicht auf Naturalismus, der Zeit entsprechend, gerichtet war.

Der Stoff ist es in erster Linie, der zeitgemäß ist. Ganz abgesehen von dem Geruch der Scholle, dem Dunstkreis der ostpreußischen Heimat und dem Sachkreis bäuerlichen Berufes, die den bleibenden Wert des Werkes ausmachen, ist denn auch in der Darstellung des Hauptcharakters die Handschrift der Zeit, bewußt oder unbewußt, unverkennbar. Paul ist einer jener Bedrückten, Verachteten, Dumpfen, der sich ihrer Inferiorität Bewußten, die uns in Epik und Dramatik des Naturalismus immer wieder begegnen. Im Augenblicke seiner Geburt ist das Unglück über die Familie hereingebrochen, und nun soll sein ganzes Streben ein Kampf mit diesem Unglück werden. Immer, wenn andre sich freuen, muß er zur Seite stehen. Früh mit der Betreuung der jüngeren Geschwister beauftragt, überwacht er sie trotz Undank und Widerstand bis zu ihrer Verheiratung. Selbst ausgeschlossen von höherer Schulung, schafft er den Brüdern die Mittel zu akademischem Studium und weiterem Aufstieg. Als er allmählich die Familie in die Höhe gebracht hat, stirbt ihm die Mutter; als er Hoffnung hat auf Bezwingung der „Schwarzen Suse," verführt man ihm die Schwestern; als er die Ernte seiner Arbeit feiert, will sich die Geliebte verheiraten, muß er selbst die Scheuer in Brand stecken, um die Ehre der Familie zu retten. Ein Mann zu sein, sehnt er sich von früher Jugend auf, und für dieses Mannsein erfindet Sudermann das glückliche Symbol des Pfeifens.

Der erste Schritt aufwärts gelingt ihm, als die Mutter ihn mitnehmen will ins weiße Haus. Da pfeift er einen Triller, dann „Kommt ein Vogel geflogen" und „Heil dir im Siegerkranz." „Mama ich kann pfeifen," jubelt er und wundert sich, daß sie so wenig Verständnis für seine Kunst zeigt (34).[3] Als er mit Elsbeth auf der Heide wandert, ist er plötzlich in dieser Kunst beredsam geworden und es ist ihm, „als ob er auf diese Weise alles sagen könnte, was ihm das Herz bedrückte und

[3] Ich zitiere nach der 94–97sten Auflage des Werkes. Stuttgart und Berlin: Cotta, 1907.

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wozu er in Worten nimmer den Mut gefunden haben würde" (74). Als er in der Johannisnacht unter Elsbeths Fenster geht, vergißt er, seinen Empfindungen überlassen, alles um sich her beim Pfeifen. Und nun schenkt sie ihm, der sich beim Gartenfeste so wenig mannbar gezeigt hatte, eine Flöte aus schwarzem Ebenholz mit silbernen Klappen. Diese Flöte ist ein echt Freudisches Symbol und wirksam als primitives Abbild der Mannbarkeit. Aber sie teilt auch die im Kunstwerke so oft verwirrende Ambivalenz solcher Symbole, indem sie zugleich Pauls Liebe zu Elsbeth und seine Sehnsucht nach einem höheren Lebensschwunge bezeichnet. Als er nämlich die „Schwarze Suse" in Bewegung setzt, kommt das Instrument unter die Räder, ein Opfer des Liebsten, das er hat (246), während die Erfüllung seines Wunsches, die Maschine wieder in Gang zu bringen, doch gerade einen Erfolg bedeutet. Eine solche Unklarheit wird im Impressionismus direkt zum künstlerischen Mittel der Stimmungsgebung; bei der unterstrichenen Übersetzung des Symbols in allzugreifbare Wirklichkeit aber erreicht Sudermann nur eine verstiegene Sentimentalität. Auch der Gedanke Elsbeths, des Kindes, er solle ‚ein großer Künstler werden,' (75) in der ganz unkindlichen Unterhaltung der beiden,[4] wie später der Wunsch Pauls, ein berühmter Musiker zu sein, läßt uns den Abstand seines primitiven Pfeifens von wirklichem Künstlertum peinlich inne werden. Nicht einmal der Anlage zu einem Talent sind wir sicher bei ihm. So geraten hier bereits Elemente des romantischen Entwicklungsromans mit der neuen Richtung in Widerstreit. Diese Künstlersehnsucht zielt nicht auf Arbeit (wie im naturalistischen Künstlerroman), sondern auf Selbstgenießen, auf Geltenwollen.

Die Doppeldeutigkeit geht durch Pauls ganzes Wesen. „Wie diese Kurbel sich dreht und dreht ohne zu wissen, warum? und für sich selber nichts ist wie ein totes Stück Eisen, so muß ich mich auch drehen und drehen und nicht fragen: warum? . . . Es soll ja Menschen auf der Welt geben, die das Recht haben, für sich selber zu leben und die Welt nach ihren Wünschen

[4] Diese Scene ist vielleicht Storms *Immensee* nachgebildet. Aber man vergleiche die viel sicherere Stilwirkung Storms, bei dessen bewußter Fernhaltung vom Realismus ein Verlangen nach wirklichem Kindergespräch gar nicht aufkommt.

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zu bilden, aber die sind anders geartet wie ich, die sind schön und stolz und kühn, und um sie herum scheint immer die Sonne " (205). Das ist der Paul des deterministisch orientierten Naturalismus, der an den Erdmanns des Romans, an den wenig erfreulichen eigenen Brüdern, an allen Mannhaften gemessen wird wie Robert in der *Ehre* am Grafen Trast, an einem ganz falschen Maß, das beiden Seiten nicht Genüge tut und daher jenseits aller Norm liegt. Aber dies Übertreiben der Beurteilung (wohl verstanden, nicht der Darstellung in unserm Falle) ist immer die Klippe, an der Sudermann scheitert: ein Hineintragen falscher Maßstäbe in das Kunstwerk von außen her, ein Anreden des Lesers, sozusagen, dem der Autor kein eignes Urteil zutraut, dem er Dinge handgreiflich deutlich machen muß, wie wir später noch ausführlich sehen werden. Dieser Paul ist ja schließlich gar kein so hoffnungslos Gedrückter und Dumpfer. Er hat die Liebe der Mutter. Er lernt, wenn auch schwer und langsam, doch gut und akkurat. Sein Minderwertigkeitsgefühl ist ihm ein Ansporn. , Er verspricht sich von seiner Tätigkeit den Beginn einer neuen, segensreichen Zeit,' und wenn er nachts im Bett liegt, , träumt er von wogenden Weizenfeldern und blitzblanken, massiven Scheuern' (60). Im Frühling , möchte er laut aufjauchzen und das Herz wird ihm schwer vor lauter Lust' (61). Aber der Dichter läßt ihn die Überzeugung tragen, , daß im Grunde sein Schaffen ein hoffnungsloses war' (98). Trotzdem und obwohl der Vater den größten Teil der Einkünfte dieses mit 2000 Talern angezahlten Heidehofes verspekuliert oder durch die Gurgel jagt, vollzieht sich hier auf dem Gute unmerklich eine große Veränderung (100). Paul ist Elisabeths einziger Vertrauter, glücklich in dem Gefühl, daß ihm alle ihr Leid klagen (129). Und wenn er sich auch, trotz Vorbereitungen und trotz des so gar nicht zu ihm Passenden „ Falten machen interessant " in feiner Gesellschaft nicht zu bewegen weiß, wird er doch nun durch Gewalt über den Vater Herr im Hause. Der Brand treibt sein Gefühl der Schuld freilich zur fixen Idee (159), aber schon kurze Zeit darauf überkommt es ihn „ wie ein Gefühl des Glücks, wenn er dessen gedachte, wie er in Qualm und Flammen hoch auf dem steilen Dach gestanden, handelnd und herrschend als der einzige, dem

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alle gehorchten, der einzige, der inmitten der Wirrnis bei klarem Kopfe geblieben " (166). Trotz aller Gewissensbisse schwört er seinen Eid (dessen Sinn er selber bestimmt und der daher nicht ganz einwandfrei ist), um Elsbeth zu schützen. Gegen seine Natur läßt er sich von den Knechten bestehlen, während er zielbewußt den Erdmanns auflauert, und bringt diese dann mit Gewalt und Drohung zum Heiratsversprechen. So kommt denn am Schluß der Erfolg; er reist auf Geschäfte; er wird als angesehener Mann begrüßt und behandelt; eine unerhörte Ernte wird eingetragen zur Zeit, da Elsbeth ihre Verlobung veröffentlicht. Acht Jahre nachdem Pauls Scheune, die Arbeit von zwanzig Jahren, abgebrannt ist, steckt er an Elsbeths Polterabend, das eigne Werk seiner Hände in Brand, um das weiße Haus vor dem Vater zu warnen. Der alte Douglas weiß sofort, als er den alten Meyhöfer tot liegen sieht, „ er hat unser Gut anzünden wollen und Gott hat ihn erschlagen." Und Elsbeth weiß, „ hat uns einer gerettet, so tat es dieser" (d.h. Paul).

Determinismus der Zeit, Romantik des alten Entwicklungsromans, starke Willenssphäre des Sudermannschen Menschen; so stehen überall die harten, unverbundenen Gegensätze und Antithesen nebeneinander. Es wäre zuviel gesagt, wenn man behauptete, diese Gegensätze schließen einander völlig aus; aber sie sind zu scharf zugespitzt, zu tatsachenmäßig nebeneinandergestellt, zu sehr nur auf des Erzählers Worte in Treu und Glauben anzunehmen. Motivieren ist stets Sudermanns schwache Seite. Warum müssen die Brüder Pauls so karikaturenmäßig taktlos sein? Warum willigt Elsbeth, willigt der alte Douglas in die Verlobung mit dem lächerlichen Leo (dem Ebenbilde des Felix in den *Problematischen Naturen*). Warum muß das etwa achtzehnjährige Mädchen die einzige sein, der der Arzt das Geheimnis der tötlichen Krankheit ihrer Mutter anvertraut statt ihrem Vater, der doch , eine Hundebestie mit der mächtigen Faust (!) eines Riesen erstickt ' (145). Auf welche Indizien hin wird Michael Raudszus verurteilt? Warum holt sich Paul nicht einen sachkundigen Mechaniker für die Schwarze Suse, wenn es doch letzten Endes nicht an Geld fehlt, statt , an den Nieten zu schrauben ' (201) (!). In diesem Falle z.B. wird der Mangel an des Autors eigener Zuständigkeit

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wirklich grotesk, wie wir auch jede glaubwürdige Angabe über die Bewirtschaftung des Gutes und seine erstaunlichen Erträge schwer entbehren. Der Stoff der Zeit, ein realistisch-epischer, scheitert hier an des Autors summarisch vorwärtseilender Behandlung.

Zur ungemilderten Theatralik hingegen steigern sich solche Mängel in den letzten Kapiteln. Die scène à faire des französischen Sittendramas mit allen ihren Knalleffekten, mit ihrem Spiel an der Rampe, ihren Überraschungen ist für die Verdrängung jeder ruhigen epischen Teilnahme des Lesers verantwortlich. „Der Verteidiger hatte geendet.—Ein Murmeln ging durch den weiten Schwurgerichtssaal." Dieser Verteidiger hat nichts von den näheren Umständen der Brandstiftung gewußt, nur damit Paul uns durch eine Selbstanalyse und Selbstanklage verblüffen kann, die—von seinem Charakter her gesehen—wie schamloser Exhibitionismus wirken muß. Nicht daß er still mit nun wirklich bewußter und verinnerlichter Kraft die Schande des Vaters als Tatsache dahingestellt sein läßt, die eigene Schuld als die mindere, weil am eignen Eigentum begangene, ruhig bekennt und sich in seinem Gewissen damit abfindet, was eine wirkliche innere Befreiung bedeutete. ‚Nein, er hat ihn lieber gehabt, da er ihn tötete, seinen alten Vater.' Eine Absage an seine ganze Entwicklung, nicht einfach an sein früheres dumpfes Wesen, sondern an alle, für die er gearbeitet, die Brüder, die Schwestern, mit einer Lieblosigkeit, die diesem stillen Menschen ganz fremd ist und bleiben wird und muß, wenn er sein Bestes nicht verleugnete,—eine solche Absage schleudert er in diesen Schwurgerichtssaal, unter die klirrenden Lorgnetten und Operngucker; und die greise Hühnengestalt des Douglas sagt „Bravo" und „Auf den kann ich stolz sein." Schließlich ist es doch gerade das Pflichtbewußtsein, die Echtheit, Tiefe und Naivität Pauls, die ihn zu dem macht, was er ist, und mit der seine Schwäche, sein Mangel an Selbstbewußtsein aufs engste zusammenhängt. Und sein Gebundensein, sein Verantwortungsgefühl ist seine schönste Tugend, die in dieser Absage einem wilden Individualismus geopfert wird. Stammte der Roman nicht aus dem Jahre 1887, so müßte man den Einfluß eines mißverstandenen Nietzsche annehmen, wie es in

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den späteren Werken, z.B. im *Glück im Winkel* fraglos berechtigt ist.

Im letzten Kapitel ahnt Paul nicht einmal, daß die einzigen, die zu ihm halten, für die er alles hingegeben hat, ihn an der Gefängnispforte erwarten werden. Es bleibt ja überhaupt höchst zweifelhaft, ob ein Schwurgericht den von allen Geachteten je zu dieser Strafe verurteilt hätte. In diesen letzten Kapiteln ist kein Widerstreit von Zeitstil und Persönlichkeitsstil schuldig, hier überwiegt einfach ein ungeniertes Streben nach Effekt auf Kosten jeder Wahrscheinlichkeit.

Aber auch die Palme der Selbstrettung wird Paul noch streitig gemacht durch das Motiv, das ihn trieb, die Liebe zu Elsbeth, der Prinzessin des Märchens, in dessen Rahmen der ganze Roman sich abspielt.

Noch einmal nämlich wird vom Autor die Deutung des Problems in den Roman hineingetragen durch das Märchen von der Frau Sorge. Eine graue Frau mit bleichem, hageren Gesichte hat Pate gestanden bei Paul, und ihr hat die Mutter seine Seele verschreiben müssen. Eine Prinzessin könnte ihn erlösen, wenn er sie um ihre Seele bäte; aber er kann sie nicht sehen, Frau Sorge hat ihm die grauen Schleier um sein Haupt gelegt. Nur auf die Bedingung hin, daß er sich selbst befreie durch ein Opfer alles dessen, was er lieb hat, will sie ihn wieder los geben.

Der Sinn ist leicht zu erfassen. Elsbeth ist die Prinzessin (siehe das Lied vom Hirten und der Prinzeß im weißen Haus S. 288). Paul kommt nie der Gedanke, daß die Vornehme, die in das Paradies des weißen Hauses Entrückte, auf ihn warte. Er opfert zuerst das Sehnen nach einem freieren höheren Leben und seine Liebe: „die Schwarze Suse," das Abbild dumpfer, willenloser Arbeit, geht über die Flöte hinweg und zerbricht sie,[5] dann aber den Ertrag seines ganzen Lebens.[6] Beides gibt er dahin, das erste für die Seinen, das zweite für Elsbeth. Durch das zweite Opfer aber gewinnt er den Verlust (Elsbeth), verliert er den Gewinn (Familie und Gut) des ersten. Wie wir schon

[5] „Nun hab ich dir auch mein Letztes geopfert, nun kannst du doch zufrieden sein, Frau Sorge?" (246).

[6] „Mutter! Mutter!— — —Jetzt weiß ich, wie dein Märchen endet.—Erlöst bin ich—erlöst bin ich!" (269).

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oben sagten: seine Tugend wird zum Irrtum, sein Leben für andere zum Fluch. Was er zerstörte, war seiner Hände Werk, für das er niemandem Rechnung abzulegen brauchte als Gott und sich selber (278–280). Und doch tut er's vor den klirrenden Lorgnetten und Opernguckern.

Dieses Opfer ist nun aber aus Liebe zu Elsbeth gebracht. Indem er sich mit der Tat befreit, gewinnt er sie ganz äußerlich, ohne es selbst zu ahnen; sie fällt ihm zu wie die Königstochter dem Dümmling im Märchen. Der symbolische Rahmen überschneidet die realistische Darstellung des Gerahmten und fließt mit ihm zusammen. Eine folgerichtige Fortführung der Geschichte müßte bewirken, daß Paul sich ohne Gewaltsamkeit befreite und dann im Bewußtsein seines innern Wertes die Augen zu Elsbeth erhöbe. Statt dessen haben wir nur eine Verwirrung ethischer Begriffe, wie bei Sudermann so häufig, und der pater ex machina streckt über den ‚endlich Vereinten' segnend die Hände aus. Daß übrigens Pauls Mutter, diese arme, verkümmerte Frau, in aller Not und Bedrängnis so klar die Verhältnisse und den Charakter des Sohnes durchschaut—sie ist es ja, die das Märchen aufgeschrieben hat—ist eine starke Zumutung an die Phantasie des Lesers.

Gehen wir auf die Quelle dieses Märchens zurück, so wird uns auch der Zwiespalt der Darstellung im Charakter Pauls noch verständlicher. Busse sieht ganz richtig, daß die graue Frau aus Goethes *Faust* stammt (und vielleicht kommen außerdem noch, wie es Schoen will, Heinesche Verse aus dem *Romanzero* in Betracht.[7]) Aber er zitiert die Verse aus dem fünften Akt des zweiten Teiles (Vs. 11453–11486), die er falsch deutet, nämlich dahin, daß ‚nicht so sehr die Not des Alltags als Gewäsch und Getriebe des Marktes dem geistigen Menschen den klaren Blick für das Wesen der Dinge und Menschen verhülle' (43). Ist nicht diese Selbstdeutung der grauen Schwester vielmehr der fürchterliche Fluch des taedium vitae, jene Verzweiflung des modernen Menschen, der sich aus dem Schoße Gottes, von den Brüsten der Natur, der Gemeinschaft,

[7] „An meinem Bett in der Winternacht / Als Wärterin die Sorge wacht." *Romanzero*, Lazarus, No. 14. Siehe: Henri Schoen. *Hermann Sudermann. Poète dramatique et Romancier.* Paris, 1904, p. 70.

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die der innewohnende Sinn des Lebens ist, verstoßen und vereinsamt fühlt zu neuer Sinngebung, zu der ihm die Kraft fehlt. Diese Erfahrung eines stark geistig Strebenden ist indessen im Grunde der Natur Pauls fremd, sie schwingt gleichwohl als Stimmung mit, vielleicht veranlaßt durch die Goethereminiscenz Sudermanns, und bringt in Pauls Charakter jenes Zwiespältige, das wir bereits betonten. Daß Busse sich zu dieser Vermischung der Motive verleiten ließ, ist nur ein Beweis für unsre Behauptung. In Goethes *Faust* ist nun aber trotzdem die Hauptanregung für Sudermanns Symbol zu suchen, nämlich in jener Stelle, wo sich die Sorge noch nicht zu der „grauen Schwester" verdichtet hat, sondern als eben jene störende Macht der Bedenken, als Haus und Hof, als Weib und Kind erscheint (Vs. 637–651). Jene Macht, die das höhere Streben, die geistige Befreiung des Menschen hindert und auf welche die Bussesche Erklärung durchaus zutrifft, sie ist es, die Paul zwar rastlos vorwärts treibt in seiner Arbeit, ihm jedoch die Freude freier Lebensgestaltung wenn auch nicht den äußern Erfolg seiner dumpfen, fast sklavenhaften Arbeit versagt. Was in Fausts Leben Stufen der Entwicklung sind, erdgebundene Sorge und seelenumnachtende „graue Schwester," das ist bei Sudermann zu verwirrender gleichzeitiger Zweiheit verschmolzen.

„Sudermanns Gestalten sind bei aller persönlichen Formung und Durchdringung dramatische Exponenten, Träger eines Dramas, einer menschlichen Verwicklung, einer Geschichte voll Spannung, Gipfelung, Lösung. Diese Geschichte ist ein Keimpunkt der Werke, alles andere ist Ausführung, Einkleidung, Gestaltung," sagt Busse und zieht zum Kontraste Hauptmanns Schaffensart heran, die von der Landschaft, vom Menschenschlag, vom Menschen selbst ausgeht, diese aber zur hinreißenden Echtheit bildet, sehr häufig jedoch die struktive Führung des Gesamtverlaufs vermissen läßt. Statt einer solchen organischen Füllung und Entwicklung der Umrisse mit Farbe und Fülle, wie sie bei Hauptmann immer vorhanden ist, setzt Sudermann nun harte Konturen, die er durch Kontraste von hell und dunkel noch erhöht; statt daß wir selbst erkennen und erleben, deutet er mit einem „so ist's gemeint" auf Sinn und Absicht. „So bin ich nun einmal," sagen seine Charaktere;

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daher die Spaltung Magdas in der *Heimat* in eine tief erlebende Gemütvolle und eine durch die flache Äußerlichkeit ihres Gebarens Empörende. Daher die Folie Trasts zu Robert in der *Ehre*. Diese Spaltungen gehen durch alle Sudermannschen Figuren. Gründen sie in seiner Wesensart? Die Photographie, die in der mir vorliegenden Auflage von *Frau Sorge* wiedergegeben ist, läßt es vermuten: da steht ein junger Mann im Gehrock und mit malerisch darüber drapiertem Mantel, die Linke rückwärts auf der Hüfte ruhend, die Rechte mit lose herabhängenden Handschuhen und Stock (oder Schirm), auf dem Kopfe seitwärtsgedrückt den Hut mit kühnem Krempenschwung nach oben; aber die Wirkung ist nicht ästhetisierend wie bei einem Richard Voß oder Paul Heyse, sondern sie hat jene Gehemmtheit und Philiströsität der achtziger Jahre, auch im Kleiderschnitt. Der herausfordernden Haltung widersprechen überdies ein paar sanfte und träumerische aber auch ein wenig stumpfe Augen. Der Träumer Paul Meyhöfer ist zugleich ein sehr tätiger, sehr erfolgreicher junger Mann.

Was nun in der Gesamtführung der Handlung als Problemstempel bezeichnet werden kann, nämlich die Abkürzung künstlerischer Ausarbeitung und Motivierung entweder durch Unterstreichungen und dicke Handgreiflichkeiten oder durch von außen herangebrachte Deutung, das kehrt auch in Einzelheiten wieder, z.B. in der Szene, in der sich uns Elsbeths erwachende Liebe durch eine peinliche Mischung von Koketterie und Schamhaftigkeit aufdrängen muß, oder es erscheint in Wortstempeln: von dem betrunkenen Flötenspieler wird als einem „ Verworfenen " gesprochen (78); „ so also sehen zwei Gefallene aus " (212), sagt Paul von seinen Schwestern. Der Ausdruck Gefallene entbehrt schon jedes Erlebniswertes, wird indessen durch das hinzugefügte völlig grotesk, denn die Idee ist nicht, daß z w e i Gefallene so aussehen, sondern daß die zwei „ Gefallene " sind. Der Gipfel der Entsinnlichung ist indessen in dem ersten Satz des Romans erreicht: „ Gerade als das Gut Meyhöfers sich unter dem Hammer befand, wurde Paul, sein dritter Sohn, geboren." Worauf bezieht sich hier „ sein "? Auf das Gut oder auf den Genetiv „ Meyhöfer "? Würde uns der Satz vorgelesen, könnte es sogar auf einen Dativ „ Paul "

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zurückgehen und dieser würde einen dritten Sohn kriegen. Außerdem kann wohl ein Gut „unter den Hammer kommen," sich aber nicht wohl darunter befinden.

So geht aus der Analyse von Einzelheiten wie aus der Gesamtbetrachtung des Werkes derselbe Eindruck hervor: das Können dieses Dichters ist seinem Wollen nicht gleichgewogen, die Fertigkeit beginnt, ehe das Erlebnis zur völligen Vertiefung gereift ist; der klare, kluge Kunstverstand, der etwa die Vertiefung ersetzen könnte, geht ihm ganz ab. Darum häuft er im dunkeln Gefühl seines Mangels die starken Effekte, greift zum Gips des Dekorativen, um das Auseinanderfallen von Struktur der Fassade und Eigen-sinn des Baues zu verdecken. Kerrs höhnender Wutschrei „Kotzebue" [8] ist lieblos und hart in menschlichem Sinne, aber vor der ehernen Wage einer gnadenlosen Gerechtigkeit ist er nicht ohne tragische Wahrheit.

[8] Alfred Kerr. *Das neue Drama.* Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1912, S. 186.

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SCHNITZLER AND THE MILITARY CENSORSHIP UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

By OTTO P. SCHINNERER

ANYONE who traces the reception and outward fate of Schnitzler's works will soon discover that his path was not strewn with roses. Not only did he have to contend with many hostile and often denunciatory critics, but in a number of cases he came into actual conflict with the civil and military powers. Without doubt the most notorious of these cases was that of *Reigen* which has a long and lurid history.[1] Another chapter in this account is furnished by *Leutnant Gustl*, the publication of which was followed by dire consequences and resulted in one of the literary scandals of the year.

Leutnant Gustl was partly based on an occurrence that happened to an acquaintance of Felix Salten in the foyer of the Musikvereinssaal in Vienna. Towards the end of May, 1900 Schnitzler made a rough sketch of the story while he was staying at the Baumgartner House on the Schneeberg. The story was actually written at the Kurhaus in Reichenau within one week in the middle of July. Late in the fall the author gave a personal reading of it in Breslau. It appeared in the Christmas supplement of the *Neue Freie Presse*, December 25, 1900. This was nothing unusual as the majority of Schnitzler's prose works and even some "oneacters" were published in newspapers and periodicals before they were issued in book form.

The story at once provoked consternation and indignation in military circles. The first concrete result was that the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, which had agreed to publish Schnitzler's "Sylvesternacht," a one act play, on Sylvester or New Year now returned the manuscript as they did not wish to be aligned with him.[2] About a week later a denunciatory article by a

[1] An article by the present writer entitled "The History of Schnitzler's *Reigen*" has been accepted for early publication in the PMLA.

[2] "Sylvesternacht" has never appeared in book form, but was published in the *Jugend*, 1901, Nr. 8, and reprinted in the *Almanach* 1914 of the Deutsch-Österreichischer Verlag, and in the "Zwanglose Hefte für die Besucher des Schiller Theaters" (Berlin), Neue Reihe 27.

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certain Gustav Davis appeared in the *Reichswehr*. It is stated that Herr Davis thereby hoped to get back into the good graces of the Ministry of War with which his relations had become somewhat strained.

Shortly after the New Year Schnitzler received the following "Befehl des k.k. Landwehrergänzungsbezirkskommandos Nr. 1:[3]

"Seiner Hochwohlgeboren Herrn k.u.k. Oberarzt im Verhältnis der Evidenz Arthur Schnitzler

Wien am 3. Jänner 1901

Sie haben bekannt zu geben, ob Sie der Verfasser des am 25. Dezember 1900 in der *Neuen Freien Presse* erschienenen Feuilletons "Leutnant Gustl" sind. Diese Meldung hat bis 6.d.M. eingesendet zu werden.—

Seker, Major"

After receipt of this communication Schnitzler first consulted his close friend Max Burckhard[4] whose advice he also sought in all the further developments of this affair. On January 6, 1901 Schnitzler dispatched the following answer:

"Ich erachte mich in keiner Weise verpflichtet, dienstliche Meldungen oder Auskünfte über meine literarische Tätigkeit zu erstatten, da ich als Oberarzt im Verhältnis der Evidenz im Sinne des § 62 des Wehrgesetzes nur mehr jenen Beschränkungen unterworfen bin, welche für die Evidenzhaltung erforderlich sind. Nach dieser Feststellung nehme ich selbstverständlich keinen Anstand zu erklären, daß ich der Verfasser der am 25. Dezember 1900 in der *Neuen Freien Presse* erschienenen, mit meinem vollen Namen gezeichneten Novelle 'Leutnant Gustl' bin."

Before this letter reached its destination a second peremptory order was forwarded to Schnitzler by the Kommando:

"Wien am 8. Jänner 1901

Sie haben sofort nach Erhalt dieses Befehles zu melden, ob Sie mit dem Verfasser des am 25. Dezember 1900 in der *Neuen Freien Presse* erschienenen Feuilletons 'Leutnant Gustl' iden-

[3] This correspondence is based on a typewritten copy which Schnitzler had drawn up from the original letters many years ago. It was generously placed at the present writer's disposal by the author and is here published, with his kind permission, for the first time.

[4] Max Eugen Burckhard (1854–1912), a former member of the Ministry of Education, had been Director of the Burgtheater from 1890–1898. In 1901 he was a "Hofrat" in the "Verwaltungsgerichtshof."

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tisch sind. Gleichzeitig haben Sie sich schriftlich zu rechtfertigen, warum Sie dem Res. Befehle, Nr. 3, welcher am 4. d.M. rekommandiert an Sie abgesendet wurde, bis zu dem am 6. d.M. gestellten Termine nicht nachgekommen sind."

Schnitzler considered an answer superfluous and did not reply. Several weeks later he was notified by the "Ehrenrätlicher Ausschuß der Landwehroffiziere und Kadetten in Wien" that proceedings had been instituted against him:

"Wien am 24. Jänner 1901

Das k.k. Landwehrtruppendivisionskommando hat mit Befehlschreiben vom 11. Jänner l.J. die ehrenrätliche Vorverhandlung gegen Sie angeordnet. Hiervon werden Herr Oberarzt verständigt und gleichzeitig aufgefordert Mittwoch d. 30. Jänner l.J. 9 Uhr vorm. vor dem ehrenrätlichen Ausschuß für Landwehroffiziere und Kadetten Wien (Siebenbrunneng. 37, Landwehrkaserne) Dienstzimmer des l. BO. K. einzufinden. Adjustierung: Rock und Kappe.—

Bruneweki, Obl."

Schnitzler was undecided whether to obey this summons. His friend Burckhard warned him that although they had no legal authority to compel him to appear, nevertheless, it was not impossible in Austria that they might send a military patrol to fetch him. Under no circumstances should he appear in uniform. Burckhard agreed it would be advisable for Schnitzler to give him some valuable papers for safekeeping in case his house should be searched. With his friend's approval Schnitzler finally answered as follows:

"Ich nehme zur Kenntnis, daß gegen mich eine ehrenrätliche Vorverhandlung angeordnet ist. Da ich im Sinne des § 62 des Wehrgesetzes in militärischer Hinsicht dermalen nur jenen Beschränkungen unterworfen bin, die für die Evidenzhaltung erforderlich sind, kann ich die an mich gerichtete Vorladung am 30. Jänner behufs Einvernahme zu erscheinen nur dahin verstehen, daß mir Gelegenheit zur Aufklärung oder Verteidigung eröffnet werden soll. Ich gedenke jedoch von diesem Rechte keinen Gebrauch zu machen und erkläre mich daher einverstanden, daß jenes ehrenrätliche Verfahren, von dessen Einleitung ich mit Zuschrift etc. etc. verständigt wurde, ohne meine Einvernehmung durchgeführt werde."

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On February 12, 1901 the "Ehrenrätlicher Ausschuß" sent another communication:

"Im Sinne des § 17 der Vorschrift für das ehrenrätliche Verfahren werden Sie verständigt, daß die Offiziersversammlung in Ihrer ehrenrätlichen Angelegenheit am Freitag den 22. Februar Nachmittag stattfindet und werden Sie daher aufgefordert, bei derselben entweder persönlich zu erscheinen oder eine schriftliche Äußerung vorlegen zu lassen.
Adjustierung: en parade."

This meeting was later postponed to February 23d. Schnitzler replied:

"Ich nehme zur Kenntnis, daß die Offiziersversammlung in einer mich betreffenden ehrenrätlichen Angelegenheit für den 23. d. anberaumt ist. Ich stelle zugleich fest, daß mir nicht mitgeteilt wurde, weshalb ein ehrenrätliches Verfahren gegen mich angeordnet wurde. Aus einer seinerzeit an mich gerichteten Anfrage des E. B. K. schliesse ich, daß die Anordnung des Verfahrens aus Anlaß der Veröffentlichung meiner Novelle 'Leutnant Gustl' in der *Neuen Freien Presse* für notwendig erachtet wurde. Da ich aber von meinem Standpunkte nicht einzusehen vermag, inwiefern die Veröffentlichung dieser Novelle als eine jener Handlungen oder Unterlassungen gedeutet werden könne, die einem ehrenrätlichen Verfahren unterliegt, entfällt für mich jeder Anlaß zu einer weiteren Äußerung in dieser Angelegenheit."

A further letter from the "Ehrenrätlicher Ausschuß" was dated March 2, 1901, which Schnitzler ignored:

"Im Sinne des § 19 etc. etc. werden Sie verständigt, daß zufolge Beschlusses der Offiziersversammlung vom 23. Febr. l. J. die ehrenrätliche Untersuchung wider Sie wegen der von Ihnen verfaßten, in der *Neuen Freien Presse* vom 25. Dezember 1900 erschienenen Novelle 'Leutnant Gustl' eröffnet wird. Gleichzeitig werden Sie für Mittwoch, d. 13. März 9 Uhr vorm. vor obigen ehrenrätlichen Ausschuß mit dem Beisatze vorgeladen, daß ein Ausbleiben Ihrerseits die Durchführung der Untersuchung und die Beschlußfassung des Ehrenrates nicht hindern würde und daß eine schriftliche Verantwortung unzulässig ist.
Adjustierung: Rock und Kappe."

On April 16th Schnitzler was notified that the final session of the committee would take place on April 26th:

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"Sie werden aufgefordert zu dieser Schlußversammlung umso gewisser persönlich zu erscheinen, oder einen geeigneten Verteidiger zu entsenden, als sonst die Schlußverhandlung und Beschlußfassung bloß auf Grund der Untersuchungsakten vorgenommen werden würde. Beigefügt wird, daß es Ihnen gestattet wird in Begleitung Ihres Verteidigers zu erscheinen und daß eine etwaige Verteidigungsschrift in jedem Falle entgegen genommen und im Ehrenrate vorgelesen werden wird.
Adjustierung: en parade."

Once more, under date of April 25th, Schnitzler declined to appear:

"Mit Bezug auf die an mich gerichtete Aufforderung zur Schlußverhandlung in der meine Novelle "Leutnant Gustl" betreffenden ehrenrätlichen Untersuchung persönlich zu erscheinen oder einen geeigneten Verteidiger zu entsenden, habe ich nur wiederholt zu bemerken, daß mir nicht bewußt ist, inwiefern obgenannte Novelle als eine jener Unterlassungen oder Handlungen gedeutet werden könnte, die einer ehrenrätlichen Behandlung zu unterwerfen sind, und daß daher für mich auch heute, wie im Verlauf des ganzen Verfahrens, kein Anlaß zu irgend einer Äußerung zu dieser Angelegenheit vorliegt."

For a long time Schnitzler heard nothing at all as to the outcome of this final meeting. On June 1st, while taking his breakfast in a café in Salzburg, he picked up the *Neue Freie Presse.* Astonished to see the leading article featuring his name, he learned that he had been deprived of his commission. It was not until several weeks later that the following letter from the Kommando was forwarded to him in Innsbruck:

"Seiner Hochw. Herrn Dr. Arthur Schnitzler

Wien am 14. Juni '01

Das k.k. Landwehroberkommando in Wien hat Sie mit dem Erlasse vom 1. Juni l. J. Präs. 646 auf Grund des vom hiesigen Ehrenrate am 26.4.1901 gefaßten Beschlusses, mit welchem Sie der Verletzung der Standesehre für schuldig erkannt wurden, Sie gemäß dem § 30 und 33 der Vorschrift für das ehrenrätliche Verfahren in der k.u.k. Landwehr Ihres Offizierscharakters für verlustig erklärt. Hiervon werden Sie unter gleichzeitiger Ausfolgung der beglaubigten Abschrift des Ehrenratsbeschlusses, dessen Empfang zu bestätigen ist, verständigt. Ihre Offiziersernennungsdekrete sind gleichfalls mit der erwähnten Empfangsbestätigung anher einzusenden.

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BESCHLUSZ

Der Ehrenrat für Landwehroffiziere und Kadetten Wien hat über die wider den Oberarzt Dr. Arthur Schnitzler im Verhältnis der Evidenz des k.k. Landw. J. R. Klagenfurt Nr. 4 erhobene Anschuldigung, daß er als dem Offiziersstande angehörig eine Novelle verfaßte und in einem Weltblatte veröffentlichte, durch deren Inhalt die Ehre und das Ansehen der k.k. österr. u. ung. Armee herabgesetzt wurde, sowie daß er gegen die persönlichen Angriffe der Zeitung *Reichswehr* keinerlei Schritte unternommen hat nach der am 26. April 1901 stattgehabten Schlußverhandlung erkannt—der beschuldigte Oberarzt hat die Standesehre dadurch verletzt, daß er als dem Offiziersstande angehörig eine Novelle verfaßte und in einem Weltblatte veröffentlichte, durch deren Inhalt die Ehre und das Ansehen der österr. ung. Armee geschädigt und herabgesetzt wurde, sowie daß er gegen die persönlichen Angriffe der Zeitung *Reichswehr* keinerlei Schritte unternommen hat.

Wien am 26. April 1901.

Hermann Neubauer, Oberl., Franz Agler, Leut., Julius Schwitz von Schwitzhofen, Major, Adolf Hausmann, Hauptmann, Albin Brumowsky, Oberstleut., Heinrich von Beyer, Oberst als Vorsitzender.

Für die richtige Abschrift Justizref. der k.k. L.T.R. Wien, August M.A."

Schnitzler's officers' diploma was later sent for and he received in place of it a military pass as "Sanitätssoldat des k.u.k. Landsturms." He remained in the military service in this capacity until his forty-second year (1904).

An investigation of the reception of *Leutnant Gustl* as a literary work by reviewers and critics reveals many shades of opinion. *Der Bund* (Bern, June 30, 1901) commented as follows: "Daß Schnitzler dieses Menschliche so herausgebracht hat, das seinem Helden unsere Sympathie gewinnt, ist der Hauptbeweis dichterischer Genialität." In *Stimmen der Gegenwart* (August 15, 1901) the author was lauded as "ein großer Psychologe, ein Mensch, der das wirkliche, echte Leben schildert, ein Dichter in des Wortes reinster Bedeutung. Auch ein Stilkünstler allerersten Ranges." Josef Ettlinger was more critical and spoke of it as being "mehr Kunststück als Kunstwerk. . . . Glänzende Virtuosität täuscht über die innere Un-

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wahrscheinlichkeit des Verfahrens hinweg. . . . Entbehrt völlig des ernsthaften Hintergrundes."[5] The violent opponents of the story base their objections, not on literary criteria, but on moral and ethical grounds. The *Vaterland* (January 12, 1901) stigmatizes it as "unsagbar gemein," and in the feuilleton of another paper the writer waxes even more indignant: "Dieses Gemisch von Unflat, niedrigster Gesinnung und Verdorbenheit des Herzens, von Feigheit und Gewissenlosigkeit."

Under these circumstances it will not be surprising to find an equally sharp division of the newspapers in their comments upon the action of the court of honor depriving Schnitzler of his commission. The vast majority of them protested against this unwarranted interference in literary matters on the part of the military authorities. To cite but one example, Alfred Klaar, writing in the *Vossische Zeitung* (June 25, 1901) issues a warning against the fateful consequences that would result from the adoption of such a policy:

"In dem Falle Arthur Schnitzler tritt der innere Widerspruch derartiger Maßregelungen besonders kraß zu Tage. Das Heer ist seit der Einführung der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht in Deutschland und in Österreich das Volk in Waffen; es schließt prinzipiell die ganze wehrfähige Bevölkerung in sich, und das tritt ja auch in dem Falle, um den es sich handelt, deutlich genug zu Tage; denn Arthur Schnitzler ist, wie männiglich bekannt, seinem wesentlichen Berufe nach Schriftsteller und leistet nur—da er Doktor der Medizin ist—als Regimentsarzt in der Reserve seiner Militärpflicht Genüge. Wenn nun tatsächlich Volk und Heer identisch sind, und andererseits jedes Ehrengericht eines Regiments über die Zulässigkeit einer literarischen Produktion einen scharfen, praktisch wirksamen Urteilsspruch fällen kann,—ist da nicht mit einemmale die ganze von Männern der besten Jahre ausgehende Literatur der Anschauung der Regimenter unterstellt?"[6]

[5] *Literarisches Echo*, III, 21 (August, 1901), col. 1500 f. *Leutnant Gustl* had by this time appeared in book form in the S. Fischer Verlag.

[6] This article is also quoted by the *Literarisches Echo*, III, 20 (July, 1901), col. 1416. Among other papers that rallied to Schnitzler's defence we find in Vienna the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* (June 21, 1901), *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (June 21, 1901), *Arbeiter Zeitung* (June 21, 1901), *Die Zeit* (June 22, 1901), *Die Wage* (July 1, 1901); in Berlin *Der Tag* (June 22, 1901), *Vorwärts* (June 23, 1901), *Berliner Tageblatt* (June 25, 1901), also the *Berliner Börsen Courier* and the *Berliner Morgenpost;* finally the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten, Breslauer Morgen Zeitung, Kieler Zeitung.*

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The nationalistic and anti-Semitic press on the other hand heartily approved of the decision of the court of honor. Their ire had been aroused on a previous occasion, at the Viennese première of *Freiwild* [7] when they had pounced upon Schnitzler unmercifully. They now seemed to welcome the opportunity to again vent their spleen upon him. These denunciations being so typical of many others that were directed against the author in the course of his long career, we may be pardoned for quoting several of them. The *Österreichische Volkspresse* (June 30, 1901) wrote in the following vein:

"Literaturjude Schnitzler . . . Schundwerke . . . Schandstück . . . alle anderen Schunderzeugnisse dieses Juden. . . . Wir sagen: 'Unsere Armee' denn diese, den Ehrbegriff und die Mannesvorzüge verkörpernde Einrichtung ist durch und durch eine arische, daher dem jüdischen Wesen strikt entgegengesetzt und von den Hebräern von Grund aus verhaßt."

The punishment meted out to Schnitzler was not nearly severe enough in the opinion of the *Deutsche Zeitung:* [8]

"Wir glauben, daß für ein Subjekt, das so niedriger Denkungsart fähig ist, daß es sich davor nicht scheut, den Stand, dem anzugehören es gewiß nicht würdig war, zu besudeln und in den Augen anderer herabzusetzen, ein moralischer Fußtritt viel zu wenig ist."

The *Kikeriki*, not satisfied with a bitterly anti-Semitic article, entitled "Aaron Schnitzler" (June 27, 1901), followed this up with a cartoon labeled "Der fliegende Literatur-Hebräer" (July 4, 1901), showing Schnitzler being bodily kicked out, and on July 25, 1901, even burst into verse:

"Leutnant Gustl, der vom Schnitzler
Als ein Feigling hingestellt,
Der nicht Mut noch Ehre kennet
Und als Kneifer sich gefällt:
War der etwa nicht ein Jude,
Wie es Schnitzler ist und bleibt?
Und wenn ja, warum dann klagen,
Daß ein Jud' 'nen Jud' beschreibt?

[7] In the Carltheater on Friday, February 4, 1898.
[8] *Cf.* also *Vaterland* (June 21, 1901) and *Reichswehr* (June 21, 1901).

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Schnitzler kann doch das nur sagen,
Was er selber glaubt und fühlt,
Anders denken, anders schreiben,
Könnt' er nur, wenn er's wo stiehlt."

Finally the *Figaro* (July 13, 1901) derives some humor from the fact that Schnitzler's demotion was motivated partly by his failure to challenge the author of the denunciatory article in the *Reichswehr* to a duel:

"Wenn ich jemals erkranke, lasse ich mich durch den Dr. A. Schnitzler behandeln; dem kann man das Honorar schuldig bleiben, denn wie ehrenrätlich festgestellt ist, fordert er nicht."

In writing *Leutnant Gustl* Schnitzler simply exercised his sovereign prerogative as a creative artist to portray a human character, and in judging it the only admissible criteria are whether he has succeeded in making this character plausible and convincing to his readers. This principle is so generally accepted by intelligent critics that nothing further remains to be said on this score. Moreover, Schnitzler does not imply that all Austrian officers are or were like that, but merely describes a specific individual as he saw him. Besides, the lieutenant's fundamental emotions and reactions are universally human, they are only modified to fit the particular character in time and place. If this were not so, the rest of us would be unable to appreciate the work. That the military powers saw fit to discipline Schnitzler was an abuse of their authority, that they partly based their action on his failure to challenge a newspaper critic, is ridiculous. If every author were to react in that manner to hostile attacks in the press, he would have to stop writing.

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE LUTHER BIBLE OF 1671

By D. B. SHUMWAY

KARL VON BAHDER begins the eighth paragraph of the introduction to his admirable work *Die Grundlagen des nhd. Lautsystems* with the remark: "Luthers Sprache und zwar in der Form, die sie in seinen gedruckten Schriften, namentlich der Bibelübersetzung erhalten hat, bildet die Grundlage der nhd. Schriftsprache."

This statement in a way is too sweeping, for we know that there were other influences at work in South and East Germany which were opposed to Luther's language. Moreover, as Burdach pointed out,[1] Luther's language represented only a small part of the intellectual life of Germany. It was confined mainly to theological matters and could not therefore act as a complete guide in the field of poetry or literature. Johann Aventinus in the preface to his *Bayrische Chronik* speaks expressly of using an older literary German intelligible to all and yet which differed from the "Kanzleisprache," the "Bibelsprache" of Luther and from the "Volksmundart." Still no single influence was as great as that of Luther's Bible translation and no history of the development of the German language would be complete which did not take into account the influence of Luther's language and did not investigate the changes and revisions made in the various editions of the Luther Bible.

Such changes were made from the very beginning. The pirated editions of Frankfort and Nuremberg did not follow the language of Luther's final edition of 1545 closely. Even the edition of 1546, prepared by Luther's friend Georg Rörer, differed in many respects from that of Luther. As time went on and Luther's speech forms became more and more antiquated, the editors of even the authoritative Wittenberg editions subjected the text to more or less thorough revisions, but did so quietly without calling attention to the fact, for fear of being

[1] *Die Einigung der nhd. Schriftsprache*, Halle, 1884.

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accused of having changed the "Wortlaut" of the Scriptures. Burdach who called attention to the variations of the speech forms of the Luther Bible in different places and at different times, emphasized the necessity of making an investigation of such changes. This has never been done in a systematic way, although Willibald Grimm [2] gave a few changes and Rudolf Raumer [3] also mentioned a few. Grimm passes completely over the seventeenth century, mentioning no other version before the Stader version of 1703 which became the basis of the famous Canstein Bible, the first edition of which appeared in 1712 and by the end of the eighteenth century had reached the enormous number of three million copies. This omission is all the more to be regretted, since the seventeenth century was the period in which the most numerous changes were made in the Bible text, for the people of the sixteenth century hardly felt that Luther's language was antiquated. It was with the idea of making up in part for this lack of investigation that Virgil Moser in his *Frühneuhochdeutsche Studien* [4] devoted a section entitled "Zur Sprache der Lutherbibel im 17ten Jahrhundert" to the investigation of the speech forms of the Wittenberg Bible of 1622 and compared it with the Bible of 1545. About fifty years later, in 1671 to be exact, another revision was undertaken by the theological faculty of Wittenberg and published by Balthasar Christoph Wust. In the preface they state: "Zu dem Ende, daß Lutheri Arbeit rein und wol erhalten werde, ist die H. Bibel noch unlängst widerum auffs neue von uns mit Fleiß durchgegangen und revidiert worden." The *Vorrede* is dated Wittenberg, March 10th, 1671 and is signed by the "Dechant, Senior, Doctores und Professores der theologischen Facultät daselbst."

In order now to make a small contribution to the history of the language of the Luther Bible and to supplement Moser's article I have made a study of the speech forms of this edition of 1671 and compared them with those given by Moser, and where necessary, with those of 1545. Moser's study seems to have

[2] Kurzgefasste *Geschichte der luth. Bibelübersetzung*, Jena, 1884.

[3] *Vorschläge zur Revision von der M. Luther Bibelübersetzung*, 2. Heft, sprachlicher Teil, von K. Frommann, 1862.

[4] Paul u. Braune's *Beiträge* 47, 357–407, 1923.

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been thorough, but he has presented his results in a very sketchy way. I have sought to avoid this by giving my findings in full, quoting the passages where interesting forms occur and, in the case of divided usage, giving the proportionate number of occurrences.

The first change that one notices is the fact that every noun is printed with a capital and that we have thus arrived at the goal of the tendency to capitalize nouns which made itself more and more felt in the seventeenth century. Luther capitalized mainly for emphasis and in the case of proper nouns. Moser finds a considerable increase in the number of capitals in 1622, but it is by no means completely carried out, on the contrary a small letter is found at times where Luther uses a capital.

Vowel Changes

The use of etymological *ä* [5] instead of older *e* has made great progress. The edition of 1622 differs in this respect greatly from Luther's text; in fact one may say that there is little difference between the usage of 1622 and that of 1671. In both versions the *ä* is well carried out, but occasionally *e* is still found. Thus in the plural we find *Vätter;* (Ex. 20, 5); *Wasserbäche* (Ps. 1, 3); *Wälde* (Ps. 29, 9); *Ränke* (Prov. 14, 20), but *Renke* (Ps. 64, 7; Sir. 29, 23). The plu. of *Hammel* is written *Hämmel* (Ezek. 39, 18) where L. writes *hemmel.*

In derivatives *ä* is found consistently: *Gemächt* (Ps. 103, 14); *Gedächtniß, Gefängniß, Begräbniß*, etc., where Moser occasionally finds *e. Lästerung* occurs seven times with *ä* (Neh. 9, 18; Tob. 1, 20, etc.), but *Lesterung* once (Matth. 12, 31); *Lästerer* ten times; *Lesterer* two (Sir. 23, 2; 9); *Lästerey* 21; *Lästerinne* twice (1 Tim. 3, 11; Titus 2, 2); *lästerlich* twice (1 Mac. 1, 25; 2 Pet. 2, 11). The verb *lästern* 33 times to 14 of *lestern.* In all these cases L. writes *e. Nämlich* however, is always written with *e* in the 37 cases noted. *Hässlich* is divided between *e* and *ä*, e.g. *hesslich* (Gen. 41, 3; 21; Sir. 20, 26), but *hässlich* (Gen. 41, 19; 20; 27; Is. 52, 14). *Ärgerniss* occurs with *ä* 13 times; *Ergerniss* is found seven times. The verb is divided, *ärgern* occurring 25 times, *ergern* four (Matth. 12, 31; 5, 29; 30; Mark 4, 17). The one

[5] It should be noted that an umlaut is always expressed by a small *e* above the vowel: *a, o, u.*

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case of *allmählich* noted has *e: mehlich* (Gen. 33, 14). *Ähnlich* has one case of *e*, as in L.: *ehnlich* (Gen. 5, 3), but *ähnlich* (John 9, 9; Rom. 12, 7). Differing from the usage of 1622 and from that of modern times we find *Erkäntniss* in the six cases noted; also *Bekäntniss* twice (Sir. 4, 29; 2 Cor. 9, 13). *Gefährte* is divided: *Geferten* (Luke 2, 44; Acts 9, 7); *Gefärten*, (2 Cor. 8, 19). The verb *ängsten* (Ps. 13, 3, etc.) has *ä* where L. writes *e;* also the noun in the dative plu. *Ängsten*. The suffix *-wärts* retains its old *e* (*Mittagwerts*, Ex. 26, 30, 23 times); *auffwerts* and *unterwerts* are found Eccl. 3, 21; *fürwerts*, Num. 8, 2; 3. The adj. *widerwärtig* occurs five times (Ps. 74, 23; 81, 15, etc.); *widerwertig* 13 (Ex. 43, 22; Ps. 74, 10, etc.); *gegenwärtig* has usually *ä* as a derivative of *Gegenwart*, but *gegenwertig* occurs 2 Cor. 11, 16; *ruhmredig*, which appears in L. as *rettich* and in Opitz with *ä*, has here the modern form (Ps. 5, 6; 75, 5). The diminutives always have *ä: Männlein, Kämmerlein, Mägdlein, Kästlein*, etc. In the superlative of *nahe*, *ä* predominates in the proportion of 34 to 6, the form *Nechsten* occurring Ex. 18, 16; Acts 7, 27, etc. (Moser gives nothing on this point.) The superlative of *alt*, however, when used as a noun, is found mostly with *e*, *die Eltesten* (e.g. Ex. 3, 16; Prov. 31, 23); 23 cases being noted as compared to six with *ä*.

The paradigms of strong verbs all show *ä* as the umlaut of *a: schlägt, wären, nähme, spräche, gäbe*, etc., though I noted *sehe* for sähe (Gen. 2, 19). In derivative verbs *ä* is mostly found: *tränken, verhärten, verschmähen, überwältigen, bestätigen*. Some verbs, however, are divided. I noted four cases of *dämpfen* (Ex. 1, 6; Ps. 105, 25; 118, 11; 1 Thess. 5, 19) to one of *dempfen* (Acts 5, 39); *mässen* occurs five times (Jer. 31, 37; Mark 4, 24; 24, etc.) to seven of *messen* (2 Cor. 10, 12; Rev. 21, 15); sich *schämen* four (Luke 16, 3, etc.) to three of *schemen* (Mark 8, 38, etc.); *schänden* three (Rom. 1, 24, etc.) *schenden* once (Ezek. 39, 7); *schwächte* three (Is. 23, 9, etc.), *geschwächt* (Rom. 8, 3); *schwechen* twice (Is. 14, 12; Lam. 5, 11); *schmähen: 2* Mac. 10, 34; Rom. 15, 3; Gal. 4, 14; *schmehen:* Sir. 8, 5; Mark 15, 32; Luke 18, 22; *verschmähen* three (Ex. 21, 8, etc.); *quälen* eight (Rev. 14, 10, etc.), *quelen* twice (Mark 5, 7; Wis. 11, 14); *schmäcken* (Heb. 2, 9) and *geschmeckt* (Heb. 6, 5) exist side by side. In *mästen*, the *e*

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forms predominate, *mästen* occurring twice (Job. 21, 24; 2 Sam. 2, 29); *mesten* at least six times (1 Kings 4, 23; 24; Jer. 46, 21; Ezek. 39, 18; Amos 6, 4; Is. 34, 7). Some verbs have only *ä*, e.g. *rächen* (Prov. 31, 9; Jdg. 15, 7), as it was connected with *Rache; entbähren*, Wis. 17, 9; *währen* (2 Chr. 7, 8; Ps. 106, 1), though L. writes *e; grämen*, Jer. 22, 10. Others prefer *e*, e.g. *sich blehen* (Job 11, 12; 15, 2; 1 Cor. 13, 4), as in L.; *schetzen* (1 Mac. 3, 31), in spite of *Schatz; hermen*, 1 Mac. 9, 68, from *Harm; etzen*, 2 Sam. 13, 5; *schälen* is still written with *e* in the one case noted (Gen. 30, 37); *nähren* mostly preserves the older *e*, 25 cases of *e* to five of *ä* (Matth. 20, 16, etc.) occurring; *zählen* and *erzählen* are always written with *e* in the 29 cases noted (e.g. Gen. 15, 5; Acts 5, 3, etc.). For some reason *beten* prefers *ä:* of the forms noted 152 have *ä* (Gen. 20, 17; Acts 13, 1), while *beten* is found 75 times (Ex. 24, 1; Acts 1, 14). Here the *ä* is clearly not etymological. Similarly *versengen* has changed its original *e* into *ä* in three cases: Gen. 41, 6; 23; 27, but *versenget:* Dan. 3, 27; Jdg. 15, 14. The verb *fällen*, which L. writes with *e*, has *ä* here (e.g. Lev. 11, 32; 23, 35; Jdg. 11, 27; 2 Kings 3, 19; 25; 6, 5; Jer. 6, 6); *wählen* almost always has *e*, e.g. *erwehlet* (Num. 11, 28; 16, 5); only three cases of *ä* were noted (Hag. 2, 24; Zech. 1, 17; 3, 2); the noun *Tagwehler* appears Deut. 18, 10; 14. In *drängen* the usage is divided: 13 cases of *drengen* (Ps. 42, 10; 43, 2) to six of *drängen* (Ps. 55, 4; 129, 1; 2); *grämen* retains its old *e* in four cases noted (Prov. 7, 3; Eccl. 1, 18; 5, 16; Jer. 8, 22); one case of *ä* is found (Jer. 22, 10); *kneten*, on the other hand, exhibits *ä* in its two occurrences (Gen. 18, 6; 1 Sam. 28, 24); *krähen*, which has *ai* in MHG., appears here with *e*, *krehen* (Matth. 26, 75) five times, just as L. writes it.

Many nouns show divided usage: *Kehle* occurs three times with *e* (Prov. 23, 2, etc.) and twice with *ä*, as *Käle* (Prov. 5, 3; Song 2, 3; *Dämmerung* has retained its old *e* in the three cases noted (Prov. 7, 9; Job 3, 9; Is. 59, 10). Similarly *Schädel* in its five occurrences, *Schedel:* Jdg. 9, 53; *Scheddelstät:* Matth. 27, 33; Luke 23, 33; John 19, 17; Mk. 15, 22; *Käfer* is written seven times with *ä* (Jer. 51, 14; 28; Joel 1, 4; Nahum 3, 15; 15, 16; 17); twice as *Kefer* (Ps. 105, 34; Is. 33, 4); *Schwäher* in its six occurrences appears as *Schweher* (Ex. 4, 18; 18, 1; Tob. 14, 14, etc.);

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Schemel: Luke 20, 43; Heb. 1, 13; 10, 13; *Häher* has only *e*, *Heher:* Lev. 11, 18; Deut. 14, 18; *Becker*, Hos. 7, 6; *Beckerin*, 1 Sam. 8, 13; *Fäser* appears once (Is. 16, 8), but otherwise *Feser* (Is. 5, 7; 16, 8; 17, 11; Nahum 2, 2); *Räzel* occurs once (Wis. 8, 8); *Stätte* usually has *e* (e.g. *Stette*); but also *Stät* (Acts 27, 8; Rev. 12, 8); see *Scheddelstät* above; *Schmer* has *ä* in its one occurrence (Ps. 119, 70), contrary to L. and to modern usage. *Fläche* has *e: Fleche* (1 Kings 7, 36); *Fehrgeld* is found Jonah 1, 3; *Schwelger* appears with *ä* (Job 21, 24; Titus 2, 16); *Grenze*, which at times has been written with *ä*, appears usually with *e*, as L. wrote it (e.g. Ps. 105, 31; 33); only one case of *ä* was noted (Zeph. 2, 8). *Stets* has mostly *e;* one case of *stäts* occurring; *stete* has *e* (Ex. 20, 15); *ohngefehr* occurs seven times (Num. 35, 22; 1 Sam. 6, 9, etc.); *jäh* with *e*: Deut. 32, 24; *gäng und gebe* (Gen. 23, 16), but *genge und gebe* (2 Kings 12, 4); *unvergänglich* has the modern form (Wis. 6, 3; 12, 1; Rom. 1, 23; 2, 7) ten times; *angenehm* has *e* as today (e.g. Lev. 19, 7; Deut. 33, 24); also *bequeme:* Num. 32, 4; 2 Mac. 8, 6; Sus. 15; Heb. 6, 7. One sees that much remained to be done here to make the orthography consistent.

Coming now to the diphthong *eu*, we find that *äu* has frequently taken its place, but the usage is hopelessly divided; thus *verseumet* 12 times (Ex. 21, 19, etc.), but *versäumen four times* (Ex. 23, 5; 2 Sam. 17, 8, etc.); *(ver)leugnen* 23 times (Math. 16, 24; Acts 3, 13, etc.), but *läugnen* 14 (Matth. 10, 33; 26, 12, etc.); *verleumden* four times (Ps. 101, 5; Lev. 19, 6), but *Verläumbder* (Rom. 1, 30); *deucht* (Sir. 33, 14); *durchleuchtet* (Rev. 3, 18); *steupen* 11 times (Jer. 2, 19; Acts 5, 40, etc.); *stäupen* seven (Mark 12, 3; Acts 22, 19, etc.), all in N. T.; *widerkeuen* once (Deut. 14, 7), but *widerkäuen* five (Lev. 11, 3; Deut. 14, 8, etc.); *täuschen* once (2 Kings 4, 28), but *teuschen* four (Gen. 31, 7; Ex. 8, 29; Is. 44, 20; Mk. 10, 19); *schäumen* is found only with *eu*: *scheumen* (Mk. 9, 18; 20); *übertäuben* likewise as *überteuben* (Luke 18, 5); *sträuben* with *eu* (Job. 15, 25; Dan. 11, 40). The following verbs have only *äu*: *säugen* (Ex. 2, 7; 9, 1; 1 Sam. 1, 23); *dräuen* (1 Pet. 2, 23); *stäuben* (Ex. 9, 9); *räuchern* (Ex. 30, 1; 7; 8; 9); *zäumen* (Ps. 39, 3); *ungesäuert* (Lev. 2, 5); *bläuen* has the older form *bleuen* (Sir. 30, 12); *keuchen* shows the form *keichen* in the one

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case noted (Sir. 31, 22). This goes back to MHG. *kîchen* and prevailed far down into the eighteenth century, Goethe at first using this form. In the case of nouns, *Säule*, of frequent occurrence, appears only with *eu* (e.g. Ex. 24, 4); *Feuerseulen* (Ex. 18, 21; 22); *Greuel* has only *eu* (e.g. Ex. 1, 12; Ps. 5, 7; Prov. 11, 20); *greulich* is found (Ps. 93, 4); *dir greuelt* (Rom. 2, 22); *Lichtschnäuzen* occurs Ex. 37, 23, but *Lichtschneuzen*, Num. 4, 9; *säuberlich*, 2 Sam. 1, 24; *seuberlich*, Wis. 12, 21; *reudicht*, Lev. 22, 22. The rare word *Kreuel* (flesh hook), still used in the modern version, has *eu* (Ex. 27, 3); Grimm gives it under *äu*.

Greater regularity has been achieved in the Mid. German umlaut of MHG. *ou*, which is usually written *äu*, e.g. *Häupt*, *täuffen*, *gläuben*, etc., whereas in 1622, according to Moser, these forms are frequently written with *eu*, as in Luther. The exceptions noted are *beugen* (Josh. 11, 35); *beugeten* (Rom. 8, 3) (MHG. *böugen*); *keulich* for *käulich* from *Kaule* (*Kugel*) (1 Kings 7, 41; 42); the modern *Schleife*, which had *öu* in MHG., appears here with *eu*: *Schleufflein* (Ex. 26, 4; 5).

No instance of the darkening of *â* to *ô* was noted, except in words like *Woge and Mond*, whereas Moser gives *die woffen* for *Waffen* as frequent in 1622.

The vowel *ö* has largely replaced *ü*, thus in *mögen*, 134 cases, as compared to 20 of *mügen* (Ps. 87, 13) and *vermügen* (Ps. 144, Einl. etc.). In 1622 *ü* still predominated. The noun *Vermögen* shows 26 cases of *ö* to two of *ü* (Neh. 5, 5; Job 40, 11); *möglich*, however, appears only with *ü*, e.g. *unmüglich* (Gen. 18, 14; Matth. 17, 20, etc.); *unvermügend* is found Is. 40, 29. In *versöhnen ü* still seems to be preferred: 41 cases of *versühnen* (Matth. 5, 24, etc.), to nine of *ö* (Ps. 36, 13, etc.). Before *r* in *erzürnen*, *ü* and *ö* are used side by side: *erzörneten* (Ps. 106, 29); *erzürneten* (Ps. 106, 32; 43; Prov. 24, 19), six cases. The MidG. tendency to change *u* to *o* before *r* has been nearly overcome in the pret. plur. of *werden:* 59 cases of *wurden* to 16 of *worden* (Gen. 6, 4; Dan. 2, 35). In *werfen*, however, *o* predominates: 34 of *worffen* (Ps. 60, 6; Matth. 4, 18) to 11 of *wurffen* (Gen. 37, 4; Matth. 27, 35); also *Maulworff* (Lev. 11, 30); *Worffschaufel* (Jer. 15, 7); *Worffler* (Jer. 51, 2); also verb *zuworffelt* (Is. 30, 24;

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Jer. 4, 11; 51, 2); but forms like *dorteltaube*, which Moser gives as the only ones of 1622, have given away to the modern *Turteltaube* (Gen. 15, 9; Lev. 1, 14; 12, 6; 14, 30; Num. 6, 10; Ps. 72, 19; Luke 2, 24). In *helfen* I noted six cases of *hulffen* (1 Kings 1, 7; 1 Chr. 6, 19) to three of *holffen* (1 Chr. 13, 20; Neh. 9, 27; Ezek. 16, 49). In *können*, *u* predominates in the preterite. I noted 131 cases of *kunte* (Num. 14, 16, etc.), to 37 of *konte* (Mark 1, 45, etc.), and in the subjunctive, 34 of *könte* to 12 of *künte* (Ps. 32, 7, etc.). In 1622, *u* alone is found according to Moser. Schottel gives only *u*. In *dürfen* the proportion stands 17 of *durfte(n)* to one of *dorffte* (Sir. 30, 5); five of *dürfte* to one of *dörfften* (Ezra, 6, 9).[6] In *gönnen* there are no forms with *ü*. *Verdorret* occurs five times (Is. 40, 8; Luke 6, 6, etc.), to one of *dürret* (Is. 32, 27). Eleven cases of the verb *trucknen* (Luke 7, 44; John 11, 2, etc.), occur, but the adj. is *trocken* (2 Mac. 1, 19; Ex. 4, 9; Neh. 9, 11).

There seems to be no system in reproducing MHG. *ei*. We find *Geträide* (Gen. 47, 24), *Geträyde* (Ps. 72, 16) and *Getreyde* (Ex. 9, 32; Deut. 12, 17) side by side. *Heiden* is written with *ey* (Ps. 10, 16; 33, 10); *Waisen* either with *äy* (Ps. 10, 18, etc.) or *Waysen* (Deut. 24, 17). Similarly *Kaiser* as *Käyser* (Matth. 22, 17; 21; Acts 17, 7; Mk. 12, 16; 17); *Saiten* appears as *Seiten* (Ps. 33, 2; 82, 4; 2 Chr. 29, 27), *Seyten* (Ps. 33, 3; 71, 7; 144, 9) and *Saiten* (1 Chr. 16, 21; 17, 42). *Seil* occurs with *ei* (Ps. 100, 6; Num. 4, 32; Esther 1, 6), as Seyl (Num. 4, 26); *Hain* as *Hayn* (Ex. 34, 13, etc.), seven times; as *Häyn* (2 Chr. 24, 15). *Heyland* occurs Ps. 17, 7; 1 Sam. 14, 39; *Meyn-Eydig*, Eccl. 9, 2; *Mäyenblumen*, Wis. 2, 7. In fact there seems to be less regularity than in 1622 to judge by Moser's statement.

The verb sich *weigern* still appears as in the edition of 1622 with the monophthongization of *ei* to *e: sich wegern* (e.g. Gen. 39, 8; Acts, 10, 29), 34 times. It appears earliest in MLG., is used exclusively by Luther and through his influence lasts down to the eighteenth century.[7] Only one case of *sich weigerten* was noted: Heb. 12, 25.

No case of the *ei* umlaut of *a* in such words as *Arbeit*, *Arznei*, *Ameise* is found in 1671, whereas according to Moser it is

[6] Schottel has only *ü*, p. 579.

[7] See Kluge, *Von Luther bis Lessing*, ed. 4, p. 100.

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frequent in 1622, the word *Ameise* occurring only in the form *emmeissen*, as in Luther.

The MidG. umlaut of *u*, which is still firm in 1622, has now begun to disappear. I noted 24 cases of *schuldig* to 10 of *schüldig* (Ex. 23, 7; Ps. 15, 5; Matth. 5, 21; 22; Luke 4, 4; Rom. 3, 19; Gal. 5, 3, etc.). The verb, however, usually has the umlaut, e.g. *schüldigt* (Ex. 22, 9, etc.), seven cases, but *entschuldigen* occurs Acts 19, 40; *verschuldigen* 2 Chr. 19, 10; 10, the adj. *unverschuldet*, Gen. 42, 21. In the case of *geduldig*, ten instances without the umlaut were noted (Ex. 34, 6; Ps. 24, 4), as compared to three with (Neh. 9, 17; Ps. 103, 8; Judith 8, 12). The MidG. form *drücken* predominates, as might be expected, 23 cases being noted (Ex. 1, 11; Ps. 87, 8, etc.) to six of *drucken* (Gen. 40, 11; Ps. 38, 3), two of which, *zerdruckt*, Gen. 40, 11 (pret.) and *aussgedruckt*, Num. 15, 34, might be considered *Rückumlaut*. *Hüpfen* occurs always with umlaut (Lev. 11, 21; Ps. 114, 6; Song 2, 8; Luke 1, 41; 44; 6, 23); *ruchtbar* appears with umlaut, even where Luther does not have it (e.g. Mk. 1, 45; 2, 1; Luke 1, 65).

There is a steady tendency away from the MidG. umlaut of *au* before labials. Moser gives it for the edition of 1622 as "durchaus erhalten." In the Bible of 1671, while the *äu* forms still predominate, the unumlauted forms begin to appear in fair numbers, even in the pret. and perf. ppl. The umlaut has persisted best in *glauben*. Here 165 cases of *gläuben* in the present stem were noted, (Ex. 4, 1; Matth. 2, 22, etc.) over against 19 of *glauben* (Acts 13, 39, etc.); 42 of pret. *gläubete* (Ex. 4, 3; Luke 1, 20, etc.); three of the subj. pret.: *wenn ihr gläubetet* (John 5, 46; 46; Eph. 1, 13); 20 of the past ppl. *gegläubet* (Matth. 8, 13; Mk. 11, 3). Six cases of the pret. *glaubeten* were found (Wis. 12, 17) and two of *geglaubet* (Deut. 1, 32; Bar. 1, 17); in other words but eight forms without the umlaut. *Erlauben* shows umlaut in 13 cases noted, four of them being pret. (Mk. 5, 13; Luke 8, 32; 32; John 19, 38); *erlauben* occurs without umlaut five times in the present stem (Luke 9, 59, etc.); the pret. *erlaubete* is found Judith 12, 5; the past ppl. *erlaubet*, Bel 25. In *kauffen* the unumlauted forms predominate. I noted 29 cases of *kauffen* (Gen. 42, 5; 12, etc.) to 11 of *käuffen* (Gen. 41,

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57; 42, 7; Matth. 25, 10; Mark 6, 7; Luke 3, 13; Rev. 3, 18; Ruth 4, 5, etc.); five of the imperative *kauffet* (Gen. 42, 2, etc.); 25 of pret. *kauffte* and 21 of the past ppl. *verkaufft* (Matth. 26, 9; Acts 5, 8, etc.); in other words 70 of *au* to 11 of *äu*. With *tauffen* the umlaut predominates: 36 of *täuffen* (Matth. 3, 6; Acts 2, 38, etc.) to four of *tauffen* (Matth. 20, 22; Luke 7, 29; Acts 19, 5; Cor. 10, 29). The pret. occurs four times, always with umlaut (Acts 8, 33, etc.); 20 cases of the past ppl. noted have no umlaut (Mark 10, 38; Luke 3, 21, etc.), while two have *getäuffet* (Acts 11, 16; John 10, 4). *Träumen* generally has umlaut (11 cases noted), over against one pret. *traumet* (Gen. 28, 12); the past ppl. always has umlaut. Moser gives the umlaut as always lacking in *drawen* in 1622, but while one meets such forms as *bedrauen* (Acts 4, 17; 29) and *bedrauete*, (Matth. 8, 26; 9, 30; 17, 18; 20, 31). One finds also the umlauted forms *dräuet* (Jer. 6, 11; 10, 10, 11 caes noted), so that the umlaut predominates. *Hauen* has more umlauted than unumlauted forms: *häuen* three times (Deut. 19, 5; Ezek. 21, 15; Rev. 9, 5); the inf. occurs as *hauen* (Deut. 19, 5), imp. as *haue* (Deut. 10, 1); *Holzhäuer* (Jer. 46, 22). Only umlauted forms of *widerkauen* were noted: *widerkäuen* (Deut. 14, 6; 7), *widerkeuen* (Deut. 14, 7). The noun *Haupt*, whether singly or in the compound *Hauptmann*, is rather evenly divided. I noted 103 cases of *Häupt* (Lev. 4, 24; Rev. 1, 14, etc.) to 125 of *Haupt* (Lev. 1, 4; Eccl. 2, 14, etc.); 63 of *Häuptmann* (Num. 1, 4; Mark 15, 39, etc.) to 93 of *Hauptmann* (Num. 2, 10; Luke 7, 2, etc.); but *Häuptleute* 12 (Num. 1, 5; Mark 6, 21, etc.), *Hauptleute* 56 (Num. 31, 14; Luke 22, 4, etc.); *Hauptstadt* occurs five times; in other words, 178 with umlaut to 279 without. This is very different from 1622, where, according to Moser, there were none without the umlaut. The dative plural *Häupten* occurs five times (2 Kings 2, 3; 5; Ezek 13, 18; Rev. 12, 3; 13, 1) only one of which has *zu* prefixed, as today. The noun *Zauberer* occurs eight times with umlaut (Num. 23, 23; Is. 29, 4; Acts 13, 6, etc.) and three times without (Is. 47, 9; Micah 5, 12; Acts 13, 8); *Laube* is written *Sommerleube*, Jdg. 3, 20; 23; 23; 25; *Mauerer* still has umlaut, as in Luther (e.g. 2 Kings 12, 12; 22, 6; 1 Chr. 15, 1). This form is still found in Gellert, 1, 180. On the other hand *Lauffer* occurs

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(Job 9, 25), though umlauted forms are found (2 Chr. 30, 6; Esther 3, 13). Luther writes *Leufer* (Job 9, 25).

As to other umlauts, the 2. and 3. pres. ind. of *kommen* still show the umlaut in the vast majority of cases, about 183 (Gen. 13, 10; Prov. 3, 25) with to 19 (Ex. 18, 15; Lev. 11, 34) without. *Sauffen* has both umlauted and unumlauted forms in 3rd sing pres.: *säuft*, Job 15, 16; Sir. 19, 1; but *saufft*, Job 6, 41. The pret. of *schämen* occurs with umlaut: *schämeten* (Gen. 2, 25; Jdg. 3, 25), the past ppl. is divided: *unverschämet* (Sir. 29, 17; Luke 11, 8) but *unverschamt* (Prov. 2, 13; Sir. 40, 32). The verb *bahnen* has only umlauted forms: *ungebähnt* (Ps. 107, 4; Job 6, 18; Is. 49, 11; Jer. 18, 15); *pulvern* has the umlauted form: *zupülvert* (Hos. 8, 6), tho L. has no umlant here. *nutzen*, always has the umlauted form characteristic of MidG.: was *nützet es* (Mal. 3, 14, Rom. 3, 1; Sam. 12, 21; Jer. 16, 19). Some verbs have double forms, e.g. *sundiget* (Matth. 18, 21; 2 Chr. 6, 24), but *versündiget* (Acts 25, 8; 26, 23; 2 Chr. 6, 26; 36); *erkundigen* occurs with umlaut (Acts 24, 22; 28, 21); *rücken* has mostly umlaut in the present stem (nine cases), but also the unumlauted forms *verrucken* (Hos. 6, 10), *aufruckt* (Sir. 29, 32); the past ppl. with umlaut occurs as *hingerückt* (1 Thess. 4, 17), *entrückt* (Rev. 12, 5), but also *hingeruckt* (Wis. 4, 11); *verruckt* (Neh. 1, 7). The intransitive verb (er)*hangen* is regularly used without umlaut (11 cases), also in the 3rd. sing. (Rom. 7, 21; 1 Cor. 6, 16; 17; Eph. 4, 16).

The adj. *ruhlich* (MHG. *ruowelich*) still has umlaut, as in the sixteenth century: *rühlich* (Tob. 14, 15); *hurisch* has one case with umlaut (Sir. 26, 12), whereas it occurs without umlaut, Ezek. 6, 9. Luther has umlaut here. The following comparatives have umlaut contrary to modern usage: *völler* (Eccl. 1, 7); fäuler (Wis. 4, 1); *töller* (Sir. 32, 37); *bänger* (Wis. 17, 13); *klärer* (Lam. 4, 7); *glätter* (Ps. 55, 22; Prov. 5, 3); *öbern* (Acts 19, 1; Ezek. 41, 9); the superlative is divided: *öberst* 20 times (Dan. 1, 8; 9, etc.); *oberst* 13 times (Ezek. 43, 20, etc.). *Hand* has one case of dative plural without umlaut (Job. 21, 16), but otherwise has *ä* (e.g. Job 27, 23; 23; 31, 7; 35, 7); *Bund* has one case of umlaut in sing.: *Bünd* (Job 5, 23), but otherwise *u*, e.g. *Bund* (Gen. 6, 18; 9, 11; 15, 18; 17, 2, etc.). One case of

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Vormünde with umlaut was noted (2 Mac. 11, 1). This is the older weak form which occurs in the dative sing., as *Vormunden* (2 Mac. 4, 21; L. has *fürmünden* here); the nom. plur. is *Vormünden* (2 Kings 10, 5; 2 Mac. 4, 21). On the other hand, the strong form *Vormund* occurs (2 Mac. 13, 2). *Juden* has mostly the older umlauted form (Mk. 15, 26; Rev. 2, 9, etc.), 58 cases noted as against two without (John 19, 21; 1 Thess. 2, 14). *Rüsttag*, which occurs three times with umlaut (Matth. 27, 62; Mk. 15, 42; John 19, 42), has one case without umlaut (John 19, 14), which is probably due to careless printing, as the noun is derived from *rüsten* and it does not occur elsewhere, as far as I know.

The diphthong *au*, when final, is frequently written *aw*, e.g. *Baw* (2 Cor. 5, 1); *Gebäw* (Zech. 11, 2; 3; 1 Mac. 10, 40; 44; 1 Cor. 3, 9); *Jungfraw* (Amos 5, 2; Judith 9, 2; Tob. 8, 4; Sir. 20, 4); *Hausfraw* (Tob. 2, 22); *Fraw* (Judith 12, 13); *genaw* (Sir. 10, 6); *law* (Rev. 3, 16); *Saw* (2 Pet. 2, 22); *Säw* (Mk. 5, 11; 12; Luke 8, 52); but *Säu* (Luke 8, 32; 15, 15; 16); *schaw* (Judith 9, 5); *Thaw* (Hos. 12, 3; 14, 6; Micah 5, 7; Zech. 8, 12; Sir. 18, 16); *Mehlthaw* (Is. 18, 14), but *Thau* (Hag. 1, 9; Bar. 2, 25; As. 1, 27); also *ew* for *eu*: *new* (Wis. 16, 2; 2 Cor. 5, 17); *schew* (Zech. 12, 4; Sir. 51, 18; 1 Mac. 16, 6); *sprew* (Hos. 12, 3; Amos 8, 6); *trew* (Wis. 3, 9; 15, 1; Sir. 11, 31; 20, 7; 44, 21; 45, 4; 1 Mac. 7, 14). but *treu* (2 Mac. 14, 26; Esther 4, 4; 23; Luke 16, 10; 12; 19, 17; Heb. 3, 5; 10, 23).

The rounding of *e* to *ö* is about the same in the editions of 1622 and 1671: always *zwölf*, *Schöpfer*, *schöpfen*, *Löffeln*, but *welben* (Ps. 104, 3; *wölben* does not appear till late in the 17. century); *entwehnen* (Gen. 21, 8; Ps. 131, 2; Prov. 22, 6; nine cases); *gewehnen* (Jer. 13, 21, etc., 13 times); *verwehnen* (Sir. 7, 26; 30, 8); *ergetzen* (Ps. 94, 19; Prov. 5, 19; 20, nine cases; still in Goethe); *leschen* (Ps. 104, 11; Prov. 24, 20; 26, 20; Matth. 25, 8; 29 cases); the strong verb also has *e* in 3rd sing. (Is. 43, 17; Wis. 7, 10; Sir. 28, 14; Mk. 9, 44; 46; 48) instead of the modern *i*; *löcken* always appears as *lecken*. It occurs in its figurative meaning of "kicking against" (1 Sam. 2, 29; Acts 9, 5; 26, 14) and also in the sense of "leap," "spring" (e.g. Ps. 29, 6: *lecken* wie ein Kalb; Prov. 19, 9; Is. 35, 6; Jer. 50, 11; Job 21, 11);

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blöken is written with *e*, as *blecken* (Jdg. 5, 16; Tob. 2, 21), otherwise *blöcken* (1 Sam. 6, 12; 15, 14; Job 6, 5); Luther uses only *e* in these cases; *schwören* is written not only without rounding, but mostly with *ee*, as *schweeren* (Ex. 7, 22; Mk. 14, 72), although a number of cases of *e* were noted (Ex. 7, 22; Acts 19, 13; 2 Sam. 13, 25); the adj. *schwer* is always written with one *e*, except in one case, *schweer*, 2 Chr. 10, 10; *Schöps* is still written with *e* as in Luther (Lev. 3, 6).

The old method of following a diphthong directly by *r* instead of inserting a svarabhakti *e* has died out to a considerable extent, but is still found in many instances. According to Moser, Luther seldom used *e*, but Opitz carries out the new forms. The retention of many cases without *e* in the Bible of 1671 is distinctly archaistic, as in the case of Schottel. I noted 19 cases of *Feur* (Lev. 1, 9; Deut. 12, 3; Luke 22, 55), as compared with 120 of *Feuer; Mauer* generally has the modern form in the sing. (Ps. 62, 4; Prov. 24, 31), but four cases of *Maur* were noted (Lev. 25, 31; Lam. 2, 8; Ezek. 40, 5; 2 Mac. 6, 10). The form *eine Maure* occurs (Ps. 78, 14; 2 Chr. 32, 5) also *die Maure* (Neh. 6, 15; Song 8, 9; 10; Zech. 2, 5) with MHG. *e* still preserved; also dat. *Maure* (Is. 30, 13). The plural always has the form *Mauren* (Josh. 6, 5; 1 Sam. 25, 16), likewise the weak dative sing. is *Mauren* (Josh. 2, 15; 2 Sam. 18, 20); the past ppl. of the verb has usually *e*, e.g. *vermauert* (Deut. 1, 28; 1 Sam. 6, 1; 1 Kings 4, 13, to one of *vermauret* (Deut. 9, 1). *Steuer* occurs 2 Chr. 24; Rom. 15, 26, but *Steure* 1 Cor. 16, 2. The plural is *Steure* (2 Chr. 24, 9) and the gen. and dat. sing. *Steure* (1 Cor. 16, 1; 2 Cor. 9, 1; 12). The inf. *Steuren*, used as a noun in the sense of "destroy" occurs Is. 28, 22; Rom. 9, 28; 28. The verb also omits *e*: *steuret* (2 Mac. 6, 13), *gesteuret* (Ps. 106, 30). *Feyer* occurs Lev. 25, 6; 8, but *Feyre* Lev. 25, 2; 4; 26, 34; 43; the verb is *feyren* (Ps. 42, 5; Lev. 25, 2). The following similar verbs were noted: *lauret* (Ps. 10, 8, etc.); *geteuret* (Ps. 106, 30, etc.); *getrauret* (2 Sam. 11, 27); *versäuert* (Gal. 5, 9), *ungesäuert* (Num. 6, 17, etc., eight times), but *ungesäurten* (Num. 6, 19; 19; 9, 11; Josh. 5, 11). The subst. inf. *Lauren* occurs, Sir. 25, 20; 20.

The old diphthong *ie* is still written at times in the word *Licht*. I noted 29 cases of *Liecht* to 48 of *Licht;* the plural

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Liechter occurs (Gen. 1, 14; 15), *Lichter* (Ps. 136, 7; Luke 12, 35); adj. *liecht* (Matth. 6, 32; Luke 11, 34); *licht* (Matth. 17, 23; Acts 27, 33); *Liechtlein* (Job 12, 8).

There seems to be little regularity in the use of *i* and *ie* for MHG. *i;* 343 cases of the sing. imp. and 3rd sing. pres. ind. of *sehen: sihe* or *sihet* were noted (Jdg. 3, 25; Ruth 1, 15), as compared with 231 with *ie* (1 Kings 12, 16; Job 10, 4); *liegen* has mostly *i*: 68 cases of *ligt* (Josh. 22, 11; 1 Kings 1, 9), none of *liegt;* five of *ich lige* to three of *liege;* 28 of *ligen* (Is. 42, 13; Jer. 9, 22) to none of *liegen.* In the case of *geben*, 19 of imp. *gib*, none of *gieb;* 51 of *gibt* to one of *giebt* (Ps. 147, 9); three of *gibest*, five of *gibst* to five of *giebest;* two of *vergibest* (Ex. 34, 7; Num. 14, 19); in *befehlen* two cases of imp. *befihl* (Ex. 17, 14; Matth. 27, 64) to one of *befiehl* (1 Kings 5, 6); one case of *befihlet* (Sir. 13, 14); in the case of *stehlen*, one case of *stilet* (Ex. 22, 1), one of *stihlest* (Rom. 2, 21) to four of *stielet; lesen* has ten cases of imp. *liese*, three of *lieset* (Matth. 24, 15); *gefidert* occurs Gen. 1, 21; *geschrieben* always has *ie; (Rach)girig* five times, but *(Blut)gierig* three times; *ziemet* occurs: Matth. 12, 2; 4; Acts 16, 21; *grieffen:* Matth. 22, 6; the verb *versiegeln* has only *i* (Job 9, 7, etc.), 13 times; also *Versigeler* (Neh. 10, 8). The noun *Siegel* has *ie* ten times, all in Rev., to seven cases of *Sigel* (two in Rev. 5, 5; 9, 4); *Riegel* is written only with *ie* (e.g. Sir. 28, 28); *Zinn* appears as *Zien* four times (e.g. Ezek. 22, 18; 20; 27, 12; Sir. 47, 20).

A double vowel is more frequently used in the Bible of 1671 than now to indicate length, e.g. *Haabe* (Gen. 13, 6, etc.) 21 times over against *Habe:* (Gen. 14, 11, etc.), 12 times; *Schaaf* occurs three times (Gen. 24, 35; Neh. 10, 36; Ps. 74, 1), to 40 times with *a*; *Saamen* occurs ten times (Ps. 23, 31, etc.), to 45 with *a*; *Heerde* always with *ee* (Gen. 27, 2; Ps. 77, 21, etc.), 22 times; *Quaal* was noted three times (Job 36, 14; Wis. 2, 19; 3, 1), *Qual* six (Luke 16, 23, etc., all in N. T.). *Mal* always has *aa* (Gen. 31, 51; 35, 14; 35, 20, 39 times); also *Maalzeichen* (Ex. 17, 16; Gal. 6, 17); *Maalstein* (Lev. 26, 1; Is. 19, 19); *Schaar* occurs only with *aa* (Matth. 26, 47; Mk. 14, 43), 18 times, but *Scharen* is found Rev. 17, 15; *Hahn* six times as *Haan* (Matth. 26, 34, etc.), once as *Han* (Matth. 26, 75), also as *Hahn* (Luke 22, 34,

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60); *Heer* and *Haar* are written as now; *Saat* usually as now, once as *Sat* (Deut. 23, 25); *Aaß* seven times (Matth. 24, 28, etc.), once as *As* (Job 39, 33); *Schoos* 18 times (Gen. 30, 3, etc.), but *Schos* seven (2 Sam. 12, 3; 8; Job 3, 12, etc.); *Looß* four times (Ezek. 21, 21; 47, 22; Ob. 1, 11; Nahum 3, 10) to one *Loß* (Joel 3, 2); the verb is spelt *lossen* (Jonah 1, 7), *losseten* (Jonah 1, 7); *scheren* has one *e* (Lev. 21, 5; Num. 6, 9; 18; 8, 7), also *Schermesser* (Num. 6, 5); *geel* occurs once (Esther 8, 15), *gele* frequently (e.g.: Ex. 25, 4; 28, 37; Num. 4, 6; Sir. 45, 12; Esther 1, 6; Lev. 14, 37; Rev. 9, 17); *hehl* twice as *heel* (Is. 3, 9; Sir. 8, 21); *kahl* as *kaal* seven times (Jer. 49, 5, etc.); *Kaalkopf* (2 Kings 2, 23); *gar* is written in one case as *gaar* (Ezek. 24, 10); *Maas* occurs once (Gen. 18, 1), otherwise as *Maß* (Matth. 7, 2; 23, 32, etc.).

The edition of 1671 takes a step forward in the diphthongization of the diminutive suffix *-lein*. According to Moser the edition of 1622 is "durchweg undiphthongiert-nur ganz isoliert *-lein*." In our edition, *-lin* occurs only occasionally, e.g. *Kindlin* four times (Gen. 43, 8; 2 Mac. 8, 4; Is. 49, 15; Luke 11, 71), but *Kindlein* 25 times. Certain words, however, prefer *-lin*, thus the expression *Männlin und Fräulin* always occurs in this form (Gen. 1, 27; 5, 2; 7, 2; 9; 16; Mk. 10, 6); similarly Männlin by itself (Ex. 12, 5; 13, 12; 15); also *Schildlin* is frequent (Ex. 28, 4; 15; 23; 24), 17 times to one with *lein* (Gen. 25, 7). Others are divided: *Häufflin* twice (Ex. 12, 6; Ps. 125, 3), *Häufflein* twice (2 Sam. 2, 25; Sir. 48, 16); *Böcklin* five times (Ex. 23, 19, etc.), *Böcklein* four (Sir. 47, 3, etc.); *Schleufflin* three times (Ex. 26, 10; 11; 26, 11), to three with *-lein; Knäblin* twice (Lev. 12, 2; 7), but *-lein* four times (2 Sam. 12, 16; Zech. 8, 5; Rev. 12, 5; 13); *Mägdlin* twice (Lev. 12, 5; 7); *-lein* six (Joel 3, 3, etc.); *Kettlin* once (Ezek. 16, 11), perhaps due to lack of space, but *-lein* (Is. 3, 19); *Bächlin* once (Sir. 39, 17); *-lein* (Sir. 24, 41; 44); *Scherflin* (Mk. 12, 42; Luke 21, 2), but *-lein* (Is. 40, 15). The following were noted only with *-lin: Häcklin* (Ex. 36, 13; 18; 39, 43); *Feindlin* (Prov. 23, 4); *Schweisstüchlin* (Acts 19, 12); *Kützlin* (Lev. 11, 17); *Grüblin* (Lev. 14, 37); *Läplin* (Num. 15, 38; Deut. 22, 12); *Kieselin* (2 Sam. 17, 13), perhaps lack of space; *Füßlin* (1 Kings 7, 29);

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Täflin (Luke 1, 63); *Sträuchlin* (Song 6, 10). Otherwise we find only *-lein*, e.g. *Kästlein, Krüglein, Schifflein, Brünnlein, Zweiglein, Kämmerlein, Bündlein, Hündlein, Tischlein, Küchlein, Leutlein, Stündlein, Büchlein, Wörtlein, Dörflein, Ohrläplein* (Amos 3, 12). All told I counted 75 cases of *-lin* to 89 of *-lein*, if we disregard the 17 cases of *Schildlin*. Including the latter *-lin* would seem to predominate, but if we count the individual words, which is probably a fairer test, we find 63 cases of *-lein* to 21 of *-lin*, a decided preponderance.

Another marked step forward is found in the dropping of final *e* in the third syllable. Moser gives many forms in *-unge*, such as *samlunge* and *-inne*, e.g. *löwinne*. I noted very few of these in 1671: *Verwüstunge* (Matth. 24, 15; 1 Kings 8, 65); *Wohnunge* (Ezra 7, 15); *Weissagunge* (Neh. 6, 12), also a plural *Erdbebunge* occurs Luke 21, 11, and Rev. 16, 18; 18.

The syncopation of medial *e* in the pret. and past ppl. of verbs having a dental stem is still very frequent in 1671, e.g. *geredt* 31 times (Ps. 62, 12; Acts 3, 21, etc.), to eight of *geredet* (Acts 16, 14; 1 Sam. 20, 23, etc.); *auf-* or *zugericht* 367 times to 77 of *gerichtet*. In pret. of *reden* the longer forms prevail: *redeten* 19 times, *redet* (pret.) eight and *redten* only once (2 Sam. 12, 19). The following forms were noted: the ppl. *außge-* or *verschütt* (Matth. 9, 17; 2 Chr. 34, 47, etc.), ten times, *außgeschüttet* once (Acts 1, 18); the pret. *tödten* (Matth. 26, 4), *tötet* (1 Sam. 17, 35), many times, *tödtest* (Acts 7, 28; 1 Kings 17, 20), but *tödteten* (Acts 9, 23; 29), *töteten* (2 Kings 11, 20), many times; *getodt* (Acts 10, 39), but *getödet* (Acts 7, 52), 51 times; *schütten*, pret. (Josh. 7, 23); *richtet*, pres. 23 times; *(zu)richt*, pres. twice (Amos 5, 9; Heb. 3, 12); *richtet*, pret. 11 times; *richtete(n)* 13; *richten*, pret. twice (Ezra 10, 17; Esther 9, 27); *veracht* or *geacht* 28 times (Jer. 22, 28, etc.), *ge-* or *verachtet* 20 times (Acts 19, 27, etc.), *verachtet*, pres. six times, *veracht*, four (Wis. 3, 11; Sir. 23, 14; 26, 28; 35, 17); *verachten*. pret. (Ps. 106, 24), *verachteten* five times; *tracht*, third pres. (Eccl. 3, 15), *trachtet* once (1 Cor. 13, 5), *trachtete(n)*, pret. ten times, *betracht*, pres. (Sir. 14, 23), *getracht* (1 Mac. 11, 11); *redeten* 19 times, *redet*, pret. eight and *redten*, pret. once (2 Sam. 12, 19); *rüsteten* 14 times, *gerüstet* 23 with no contracted forms; *geröste* occurs as ppl. adj. of *rösten* (Lev. 7, 12),

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but *geröstet* (Jdg. 7, 13). The following forms of *mästen* were noted: *gemästet* (Luke 15, 23), *gemäst* (Prov. 15, 17; Job 21, 24); *gemest* (Jer. 46, 21), *gemestet* (Ezra 39, 18); *verwund* occurs as ppl. six times (Lev. 22, 24, etc.), *verwundet* six; *verwundten*, pret. (2 Mac. 12, 22), *verwundeten* (Luke 20, 12); *verschmacht*, ppl. (Jer. 14, 18), *verschmachtet* (Lam. 1, 19; Matth. 9, 36), *verschmacht*, pres. (Is. 24, 7, etc.), six times; *verwüst*, ppl. (Is. 61, 40, etc.), 6 times, to *verwüstet* 12 times; *(zu)bereit*, ppl. (1 Chr. 7, 30), four times, *zubereitet* (Heb. 11, 6, etc.), seven times; the pret. is not contracted: *bereiteten* (1 Kings 5, 18, etc.); *furchten*, pret. occurs 28 times (Ex. 14, 10, etc.) and *fürchtete* eight; the ppl. is *gefürchtet* (2 Sam. 1, 14), *fürcht*, 3 sing. twice (Jer. 3, 8; Mal. 1, 6); *ausgereut* occurs Matth. 15, 13; *laut* for *lautete*, 2 Kings 5, 6; *leucht*, 3rd pres., Job 37, 21, *leuchtet*, Job 41, 23; Eccl. 8, 1; *gelüst*, 3rd pres., Eccl. 8, 3; *leyte*, Is. 48, 17, *leytet*, pret., Is. 48, 21; *bedeut*, pres., Dan. 5, 26; 8, 22; Esther 5, 8; 9; *bedeutet*, pres., Dan. 7, 16; *deutet*, pret., John 18, 32; *verpflichteten*, Neh. 10, 28; *verpfändt*, ppl., Amos 2, 8; *warten*, pret., 1 Mac. 3, 44; *warteten*, Mac. 6, 36; 2 Mac. 12, 1; Sus. 1, 12; *behafft*, ppl., Luke 4, 38; *behaftet*, ppl., John 5, 4; *er leidt*, pres., 1 Pet. 2, 23; *er leidet*, 1 Pet. 4, 1; 16; *die Seelen der Enthäupten*, ppl., Rev. 20, 4; *gestalt*, ppl., 2 Kings 1, 7, because of confusion with the adj. *gestalt*. *Die Beschnitten* occurs Jer. 9, 25, but *den Unbeschnittenen* in the same verse and the following.

The OHG. suffixes *nissa* and *nussi* appear without the final vowel as *-niß* and *-nuß* (already in 1545). It seems a matter of accident as to which suffix is used, the usage being rather evenly divided, e.g. 70 instances of *Zeugniß* were noted and the same number of *Zeugnüß;* 57 of *Finsterniß* to 48 of *Finsternüß* and two of *Finsternuß* (Gen. 15, 12; Deut. 5, 23); on the other hand 31 of *Gedächtniß* to 16 of *Gedächtnüß* and five of *Gedächtnuß* (Ex. 28, 12, etc.); 83 of *Gefängniß* to 16 of *Gefängnüß* and two of *Gefängnuß* (Gen. 39, 20; 40, 3); 38 of *Gleichniß* to 16 of *Gleichnüß;* 17 of *Ärgerniß* to two of *Ärgernüß* (Ps. 106, 36; Matth. 13, 41). In some cases the *ü* forms predominate: *Erkäntniß* 19, *Erkäntnüß* 32; *Bekäntniß* 1, *Bekäntnüß* 5; *Geheimniß* 6, *Geheimnüß* 32; *Verdammniß* 10, *Verdammnüß* 12; further occurrences are as follows: *Verderbniß* one (Prov. 27, 23);

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Verderbnüß one (Prov. 15, 11); *Trübnüß* (Ps. 3, 11); *Bekümmernüße* (Ps. 94, 19; Acts 12, 8); *Bündniß* two (1 Mac. 12, 16; 15, 17); *Verbündnüß* six (all in Num., chap. 30); *Bildniß* two, *Bildnüß* three; *Hinderniß* two, *Hindernüß* one (1 Cor. 9, 12); *Verständnüß* three; *Wildniß* three, *Wildnüß* one (Job 38, 27); *Begräbniß* three, *Begräbnüß* one (Mk. 14, 8); *Behältnüß* two (Rev. 18, 2; 2); *Wüstniß* one (Zeph. 2, 9); *Schreckniß* three: *Begängnisse* (Bar. 6, 31). On the whole 351 cases of *-niß* were noted to 269 of *-nüß* and 9 of *-nuß*.

The fluctuation between *ü* and *i* or *ie* is quite common, though in the case of *betrügen* the older *ie* still holds: *betriegen* (Jer. 23, 16, etc.); subj. *betriege* (Wis. 4, 11); the adj. occurs as *betrieglich* (Zeph. 3, 13; Sir. 13, 8; 29, 3; 1 Macc. 7, 27; 13, 31); the noun is *Triegerey* (Jer. 14, 14; Bar. 6, 5, etc.). *Spritzen* is written with *ü* as in MHG. and early NHG., e.g. *besprützen* (1 Mac. 6, 34), *gesprützt* (Is. 63, 3); the now rather rare verb *spützen*, "to spit," from *spüwezen*, an iterative of *speien*, occurs as *spützen* (Mk. 7, 33; 8, 23; John 9, 6); *wirken* has mostly *i*, e.g. *gewirket* (Rom. 1, 27; Eph. 1, 11, etc.); only one case of *gewürcket* was noted (John, 19, 23); *Hilfe* is still written with *ü* (e.g. Jer. 15, 11; Dan. 10, 13); *kitzeln* still has the *ü* form which lasted well down into the 18th century: *kützeln* (Sir. 27, 14). Luther writes here *kutzeln*. *Sprichwort* occurs twice with *i* (1 Sam. 10, 12; 2 Pet. 2, 22), otherwise with *ü* (1 Sam. 24, 14; Jer. 24, 9; Ezek. 12, 22; 14, 8; 16, 44; 18, 2; 3; Hab. 3, 6; John 16, 25; 29); in all these cases Luther writes *i; Wirbel* occurs with *ü* as *Windwürbel* (Luke 8, 23; 2 Pet. 2, 17) but as *Wirbel* in Is. 41, 16.

Consonant Changes

The word *Rippe* always occurs with *bb* as *Ribbe* (Gen. 2, 21; 22), Luther using *riebe* here. *Hader* is found with *dd* in 18 cases (Prov. 13, 10; 15, 18, etc.), to one of *Hader* (Rom. 13, 13); the verb usually has *dd*, 14 cases of *haddern* (Prov. 20, 3; Titus 3, 2, etc.) to two of *haderst* (Job 10, 2) and *haderten* (Acts 7, 26) occurring; *Schädel* is also written with *dd*, e.g. *Scheddelstät* (Matth. 27, 33; Luke 23, 33; John 19, 17); *lodern* is written with *dd*, as in Luther, in its only occurrence: *loddert*, Joel 2, 5; *zufladdert* for *zerflattert* occurs Wis. 2, 3, as in MHG. *Ekeln*

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has the MidG. form with *k*, e.g. *ekeln* (Jer. 29, 17) but also Upper German forms with *ck: eckelt* (Job 33, 20), *Eckel* (1 Kings 11, 25); *bin* occurs once with *nn*: *binn ich* (Job 7, 12); one case of the pret. of *blasen* was noted with *ss*: *bliessen* (Sir. 50, 18), but the inf. is always *blasen* (1 Kings 9, 8, etc.). The pret. of lesen has the form *lasz* (1 Sam. 20, 38) by the side of *las* (Neh. 8, 8). The verbs with dental stem no longer have *tt* as frequently, since the vowel has become long. It is no longer found at all in *beten*, *hüten*, *streiten*, etc., but it still occurs in *treten*, four cases of *tretten* being noted (Gen. 49, 22; Ex. 40, 32; 2 Chr. 24, 20; Ps. 60, 14) to 17 of *treten;* one case of *tratt* (Ex. 14, 19) to 77 of *trat* and 32 of *traten*. The ppl. also has only *t*, with the exception of the case *getretten* (Josh. 14, 9); *Übertrettung* was noted three times (Ezra 10, 13; Rom. 7, 23; 2 Pet. 2, 16), *Übertretung* twice (Heb. 2, 2; 9, 15). Further the verb *bieten* has a few past ppl. forms with *tt* in the O. T., 16 in all (*gebotten*, Ex. 7, 6; Deut. 4, 5, etc.), to 119 with *t*; ten cases of the noun with *tt* were noted (*Gebott*, Ex. 20, 6, etc.) to over 60 of *t*; the pret. has only one *t*. *Brett* is generally written with one *t*, e.g. *Bret* (Ex. 26, 16; 29; 36, 24, etc.), plu., *Breter* (Ex. 26, 15; 17; 26; 27; 28, etc.), 11 times to one of the dat. *Brettern* (Acts 27, 24). *Vater*, however, is always written with *tt* both in sing; and plur. *Vatter* (Gen. 2, 24; 15, 15, etc.) to one case of *Väter* (Ezra 1, 5). Four cases of *Stätte* occur with one *t* (Ps. 26, 8; 132, 5; 7; Matth. 27, 33; Acts 7, 49), but *tt* is otherwise found, even in the verb *bestätigen*, thus *bestättigen* (Acts 3, 16, etc.), 11 times, though *bestätigen* occurs (1 Chr. 23, 10). The plural *Blat* was noted four times (Is. 34, 4, etc.); *Zeter* always is written *Zetter* (Jer. 12, 6; Amos 3, 9; Judith 14, 16); *Krüppel* has one *p*: *Krüpel* (Prov. 26, 7), but *pp* Matth. 15, 30; 31; 18, 8; *Ellen* has *ll* in seven cases (Ex. 25, 23; 36, 9, etc.), *l* in 15: Elen (Ex. 25, 10; 17, etc.). Double *ff* is always used in *rufen*, e.g. *ruffen* (Ex. 9, 27, etc.), *geruffen* (Ex. 5, 3, etc.) and is very common elsewhere, e.g., *straffen* (Gen. 6, 3); *schlaffen*, "to sleep" (Ps. 3, 5, etc.); *schlieff* (Ruth 3, 14); *beschlaffen* (Num. 5, 19, etc.) *träffe*, pret. subj. (Heb. 11, 28); *traffen* (2 Kings 9, 21; Jer. 41, 22); *traff* (1 Kings 11, 29; 2 Kings, 10, 13); *rieff* (Gen. 3, 9; Ex. 24, 16); *schuff* (Gen. 1, 1; 21); *tieffen*, adj. (Gen. 2, 21; Lev. 15, 16; Jdg. 16, 14); *Vorhoff* (Ex. 40, 8); *Augapffel* (Ps. 17,

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8); *Stuffen* (Ex. 20, 26; Acts 21, 35). A final consonant is generally doubled to indicate a short vowel, as in modern German, whereas in the edition of 1622 single consonant is used, as in 1545. *Kann*, however, is frequently found with one *n* (e.g., Ruth 1, 11; 1 Sam. 6, 20); *du kanst* always has *n* (Ps. 18, 40; Deut. 7, 22, etc.); *gewan* (Ps. 106, 40; Prov. 7, 21; Acts 28, 15) by the side of more frequent *gewann* (Matth. 25, 16; 17, etc.); *entrann* (1 Sam. 19, 12; 18; 22, 1; Jer. 41, 15, etc.) eight times, but *entran* (1 Sam. 19, 10; 30, 17; 1 Kings 20, 20; 2 Cor. 11, 33) five times; *stat* 11 times to 23 of *statt*. In 1622 the forms *sol*, *solt*, *wil* and *wilt* occur always with one *l*, but in 1671 frequent cases of *ll* are found, e.g., five of *solt* (Gen. 3, 16, etc.) and five of *sollt* (Gen. 17, 11; 18, 5, etc.); the cases of *will* outnumber those of *wil* (Gen. 2, 18; 3, 15, etc.); *nim* occurs Matth. 2, 13; *nimt*, Ps. 142, 5; *mat*, Deut. 5, 18; but *satt*, Deut. 31, 20; 1 Sam. 2, 5; *Los* was noted 17 times (Josh. 16, 1; 17, 14, etc.), *Loß* 16 (Josh. 14, 2; 25, 1, etc.); *Ungestümm* occurs Job 9, 17; 27, 21; Matth. 8, 24; *trit* 7 times (1 Kings 19, 11; Is. 47, 12, etc.); *Kinbacken*, Jdg. 15, 17; 19, *Kinnbacken*, Jdg. 15, 15.

Initial *p* for *b* was noted only in *Pusch* (Ex. 3, 2; 4; Deut. 33, 16) and *Gepüsch* (Job 40, 17), whereas it occurs in several words in 1622. Initial *d* for *t* is still found in *dönen* (Ex. 19, 13) and *Dohn* for *Ton* (Ex. 20, 19), but *Thon* also occurs (Ex. 19, 16); *döhnet* for *tönet* occurs, Josh. 6, 5; Ezra 11, 12; similarly *Draube* (Matth. 7, 16) and *daumelten* (Ps. 107, 27), but no longer *Dorteltaube*, as in 1622, but *Torteltaube* (e.g., Ps. 74, 19). Initial *d* is frequent where we use *t*, e.g., *Drommeten* 38 times (Num. 10, 2; 2 Kings 11, 4, etc.) to one *t* (2 Kings 12, 12), *Drommeter* (2 Chr. 29, 28); *Drabanten* in 2 Sam. 15, 1, but *Trabanten* 2 Kings 11, 19; *Dinte* (2 Cor. 3, 3; 2; John 1, 12); *Daumelbecher* (Zech. 12, 2); *duncken* (Job 19, 31); *Miedling* (John 10, 13; 13); *Drümmer* (Hos. 10, 14).

Initial *t* as in MHG. where we now use *d* is found in *tichten* (Gen. 8, 21; Rom. 1, 21); in *thumb* for *dumm* (Matth. 5, 13) with the retention of the *b* of the stem. *Dunckel* (Ps. 68, 15, etc.) and *tunckel* (Ps. 107, 10, etc.) occur side by side, but *tunckel* predominates 18 to 11, whereas Moser gives only *dunckel* for 1622. *Zettel* has *tt* instead of the older *dd* (e.g., Num. 5, 23). We find

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Dulten (Acts 13, 18) and *gedültiglich* (Acts 26, 3) and *Gedult* (Tob. 2, 12; Heb. 6, 12, etc.), but *dulden* was noted ten times e.g., Luke 9, 14; 1 Cor. 13, 7, etc.) in the N. T. The MHG. softening of *t* to *d* after liquids and nasals is still frequent: *hinden* 15 times (Ex. 30, 23, etc.), but *hinten* eight (Ex. 36, 28, etc.); *hinder sich* is found 27 times (Ps. 9, 4, etc.), also *im Hindern* (Ps. 78, 67); *hinter* occurs (Ruth 3, 7, etc.) 11 times; *hinderwerts* (Sir. 27, 27); *Hinterlist* (2 Cor. 12, 16); *Hinterthür* (Sus. 1, 26), *Hinderthür* (Sus. 1, 18); *Hinterhalt* (Jdg. 20, 25), but *Hinderhalt* (2 Chr. 13, 13; 13; 20, 22); *förter* (2 Chr. 13, 20) seven times, *fürter* (Ruth 1, 11), ten times, and *förter*, adj., (2 Mac. 3, 25) always have *t*, but the verb occurs as *fördern* (Luke 20, 40; 1 Cor. 8, 8); *plaudert* in Sir. 20, 8, but *plautert* in Sir. 21, 27. In one case *unteutsch* is used for *undeutlich* (1 Cor. 14, 11); *Schleuterstein* occurs in Zech. 9, 15, but generally *d* is found (e.g., 2 Chr. 26, 14). Likewise *d* always occurs in ordinals after *n*, e.g. *den Zehenden* (Gen. 14, 20; Ex. 29, 40); *am zehenden Tag* (Ex. 12, 3); *siebenden* (Ex. 12, 15, etc.); *neundten* (Num. 7, 60; Jer. 39, 1; 2); *dreyzehenden* (Gen. 14, 5; Ex. 12, 6; 18), *vierzehenden* (Lev. 23, 5); *vierdten*, like *neundten*, has *dt* as a survival of *d* (Lev. 19, 24; Jdg. 19, 5, etc.). Final *t* for *d*, as in MHG., no longer occurs, though frequent in 1622, according to Moser. *Brot* is spelt with *d* or *dt*, e.g. *Brodt* (Jdg. 8, 5); *tot* as *tod* or *todt* (1 Sam. 17, 52; 2 Sam. 1, 5); *Schwert* is written with final *d* or *dt* (e.g., Lev. 26, 6; 1 Kings 19, 1), but *Jagd* is written *Jagt* (Ezek. 12, 13; 17, 20). The adj. *fest* appears always as *veste* (Ps. 147, 13; Prov. 10, 15; 24, 10; Acts 3, 7, etc.); the noun as *Vestung* (Jdg. 9, 49), the verb as *vestet* (Prov. 8, 28, etc.) and *bevestiget* (Acts 16, 5); *vorn* appears as *fornen* (Prov. 1, 21; Rev. 4, 6); *fördern* (Heb. 9, 6) and *Fördertheil* (Heb. 9, 2) always have *f*, but *Eiferer* occurs as *Eyverer* (Acts 22, 3), as in 1622. No cases occur of the omission of initial *h* in such words as *herab*, *herzu*, which are still found occasionally in 1622.

H is largely used as the sign of length, but is frequently placed before the other consonant, as in *noht* (Ex. 36, 5; Ps. 10, 1) and *Nöhten* (Ps. 46, 2; 1 Sam. 13, 6), by the side of *Noth* (Ps. 19, 2; Deut. 28, 5); *Raht* (Ps. 14, 6; Num. 27, 21), by the side of *Rath*, e.g. *Vorrath* (Ps. 105, 16); the verb also appears as *gerahten*

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(Ps. 16, 7; Prov. 2, 12); *berahten* (Gen. 30, 20), *Koht* (Ps. 69, 16; Is. 25, 10) by the side of *Koth* (Ps. 113, 7; Prov. 30, 12). Still many words are found without *h*, especially before liquids and nasals, e.g. *Föhrenholz* always as *Foernholtz* (Ex. 25, 5; Deut. 10, 3, etc.); *Warnemen* (Wis. 12, 22); *Warsager* (Lev. 19, 31; Deut. 18, 11, etc.); *Warheit* (Ps. 152, 25; Josh 7, 20, etc.); *warhafftig* (Ps. 33, 4; Job 12, 20); *fro, frölich* (Ps. 9, 15) and *frolocken* (Ps. 4, 42, 5) are very frequent to only a few cases of *froh* (Prov. 24, 17, etc.); *hol* (Ex. 38, 7) and *Höle* (Ps. 10, 9; Josh. 10, 11, etc.), *ausgehölet* (1 Kings 6, 29), *Käle* occurs without *h* (Prov. 5, 3), but *Kehle* (Prov. 23, 29); *Kole* (Is. 6, 6; 54, 16) but *Kohl* (Matth. 13, 32); *Zan* (Ex. 21, 24), *Zäne* (Sir. 21, 3; 30, 10) 23 times, and *Zänklappen* (Matth. 8, 12; 13, 42; 50; 22, 13; 24, 51; 25, 30; Luke 13, 28) by the side of *Zahn* (Jdg. 15, 19), *Zähne* (Ps. 112, 10; Prov. 10, 26), nine times; *Hon* is found 11 times (Is. 43, 27, etc.), but *Hohn* four times (Ps. 71, 13, etc.); *hönisch* (Ps. 31, 19) and *gehönet* (Ps. 35, 4) in many cases, but *höhnet* (1 Sam. 17, 26); *dönen* (Ex. 19, 13; Josh. 6, 5, etc.), *döhnet* (Josh. 6, 5; Ezra 3, 11; 12). *Stuhl* occurs always without *h*, as *Stul* (e.g., 1 Sam. 1, 9), *Stüle* (Ps. 122, 5), *Gestüle* (1 Kings 7, 28); similarly *Sohle* without *h*, e.g. *Fusssolen* (Is. 1, 6). *Stro* (Is. 5, 24; Jer. 23, 28, etc.) is more frequent than *Stroh; Strom* occurs twice with *h* (Rev. 12, 16; 16, 12); *Pfuhl* always is found without *h* as *Pful* (Rev. 19, 30; 20, 10; 14; 15; 21, 8), plural *Pfüle* (Ezek. 13, 18; 21); *gedeihen* appears as *gedeyen* (Ps. 101, 7; 102, 89); *gewar* (Ex. 2, 18) by the side of *gewahr* (Prov. 7, 7; Matth. 7, 3; 14, 35); *wol* and *Wolleben* (Prov. 15, 15; Job 1, 4; 5; Esther 9, 17; 18; Is. 5, 12); *erbar* always without *h* (Acts 13, 50; 17, 12, etc.); *lahm* once without *h*, as *die Lamen* (Acts 8, 7), but otherwise *lahm* (Job 29, 15; Acts 14, 8, etc.); *zahm* as *zam* (Wis. 7, 20); *zämen* (Josh. 3, 8); *gezämet* (Josh. 3, 7; 8); *fahl* (Rev. 6, 8); *Bahn* (Wis. 5, 10; Sir. 21, 7); *früh* largely as *früe* (Jdg. 7, 1; Mk. 16, 9, etc.), 30 cases noted to 26 of *früh* (Ps. 108, 2; 1 Sam. 1, 19, etc.); three cases of *kün* for *kühn* occur (Judith, 16, 12; 1 Mac. 3, 4; 9, 48), four of *kühn;* also *Kühnheit* (2 Cor. 10, 2) and *Künheit* (1 Mac. 6, 45); *Bonen* (Ezek. 4, 9); mostly *küllen* (Ezek. 16, 42; 24, 13, etc.), once *kühlen* (Luke 16, 24). It is frequently lacking in verbs of the fourth class with *l*, e.g., *stelen* (Ex. 20, 15), *stal* (Gen. 31, 20;

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2 Sam. 15, 6), *gestolen* (Gen. 31, 26), by the side of *stehlen* (Prov. 30, 9, etc.); *verhele* (Ps. 32, 5; 40, 11), *verhelen* (Job 27, 11; Is. 29, 15; Jer. 16, 17) and *verholen* (Ps. 139, 15; Job 28, 21). In *nehmen* the *h* forms predominate, e.g. 81 cases of *nahm* were noted to three of *nam* (Matth. 2, 14; 21; 20, 17); one case of the noun with *h* occurs: *Nahmen* (Deut. 28, 10). In the ppl. of verbs like *verlieren* and *gebären h* is found frequently, e.g. *verlohren* (Ex. 22, 9; Matth. 10, 6), but *verloren* (Matth. 15, 24; Ps. 9, 19; Prov. 11, 7); *gebohren* (Gen. 25, 13) and *gebahr* (Matth. 1, 25; Acts 11, 6), but *gebar* (Gen. 29, 10; 13) 29 times, *geboren* (Ps. 22, 32, etc.) 21 times; *gebären* (Gen. 29, 4); *befohlen* and *Befehl* (Ps. 119, 56) appear always with *h*, except in one case of *befolen* (Ezek. 12, 7). The fact that *h* originally belonged to the stem, though it followed the *l*, may have had something to do with its retention here. In the case of the verbs *zählen* and *erzählen* there is a marked difference between the two editions. Moser states that in 1622 they always appear without *h*, but in 1671 every case noted had *h*, though the vowel was still written *e*, e.g. *erzehlet* (Ex. 24, 3; Acts 1, 17, etc.). The noun also always appears as *Zahl* (Ps. 104, 25; 105; 34, etc.); *wählen*, too, always has *h*, though the vowel is usually *e*, e.g., *erwehle* (Ex. 17, 9), only three cases with *ä* being noted, *außgewählet* (Matth. 20, 16, etc.). The adj. *rot* mostly appears with *h* as *roht* (Matth. 16, 2; 3; Acts 7, 36), the noun as *Morgenröhte* (Amos 4, 12); *Stralen* (Ps. 140, 11; 144, 6, etc.) and *Kolen* (Prov. 25, 22; 26, 21) are found without *h; nähen* has no *h* in the cases noted, e.g. *zunäen* (Eccl. 3, 7), *genäet* (Job 16, 15), *ungenäet* (John 19, 23). On the other hand *rühmen*, *begehren*, *blühen* and *versöhnen* always have *h* (one case of *versönet* was noted (Dan. 9, 24); *Mut* always has *h*, e.g. *Muth* (Deut. 2, 30) or *Muhtwille* (Ps. 37, 7; 76, 13), also *sanftmühtig* (Matth. 5, 5).

Preconsonantal *ch* from older *h* does not occur as frequently as in 1622, where Moser says it is always preserved; still there are numerous instances at the side of the more modern *h*. The 3rd sing., pres. ind., of *geschehen* nearly always appears as *geschicht* (Ps. 33, 9, etc.), 31 cases to two of *geschiehet* (Is. 28, 19; 64, 4); in the pret. only 15 cases of *geschach* were noted (Matth. 21, 4; 28, 2, etc.), as compared to 159 of *geschah* (Matth. 27, 54;

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Acts 1, 2, etc.).[8] In the case of the noun *Schuh* 18 instances of *Schuch* (Ps. 60, 10, etc.) and one of *Schuchriemen* (Gen. 14, 23) were noted to eight of *Schuh* (Ex. 12, 11), two of *Schuhe* (Acts 13, 25; Deut. 35, 25) and one of *Schuhriemen* (John 1, 27); one case of the plu. *Schuch* occurs (Ezek. 24, 17); in *schmähen* the *ch* forms are in the majority; I noted three cases of *verschmächt* (Ps. 73, 20; Lev. 19, 20; Is. 37, 6) and four of *geschmächt* (Ps. 107, 39; 1 Thess. 2, 2; 1 Tim. 4, 10; 1 Pet. 3, 16) to two of *verschmäht* (Prov. 5, 12; 13, 15) and six of *geschmähet* (Ps. 79, 12; 102, 18, etc.); *scheuen* occurs as *scheuchen* (Jer. 7, 33; Nahum 2, 11). The usage is quite divided in the case of the superlatives of *hoch* and *nahe:* 85 cases of *nähest* were noted (Lev. 18, 6; Jer. 9, 8, etc.) over against 29 of *Nächst* (Lev. 18, 12; Deut. 15, 2, etc.) and 10 of *Nechst* (1 Kings 1, 6; Luke 10, 27, etc.); similarly 25 cases of *höhest* (Deut. 26, 19; 2 Chr. 7, 21, etc.) to 25 of *höchst* (Is. 24, 4; Dan. 4, 30, etc.). Three cases of *rauch* for *rauh* were noted (Gen. 25, 25; 27, 11; 23). The noun *Floh* occurs twice as *Floch* (1 Sam. 24, 15; 26, 20). Two interesting forms of *jächer* for *jäher* were noted (Sir. 9, 25; 20, 7).

Verb Forms

One of the most interesting archaisms of the Lutheran Bible is the retention of the old pret. sing. in *ei* of the first class of ablaut verbs. Raumer states that the Lüneburg Bible of 1677, the Nürnberg edition of 1692 and the Wittenberg edition of 1703 still preserve preterites like *bleib*, *treib*. Moser, who compared the 49 instances he gives in his article with the forms of all the editions at his disposal, points out that an Ulm edition of 1671 introduced the new forms with *ie* in 2/7 of the cases (always *erschien*, *bieß*, *schrieb* and predominantly *blieb*). He suggests that the disuse of the pret. in the Upper German dialects may have been the reason for this early disappearance of the form *ei*. Still it disappeared very slowly, even in South Germany. Nearly thirty years later the Nuremberg edition of 1698 has only one-fourth new forms as compared to two-sevenths of Ulm. Still South Germany introduced the new forms more rapidly than North Germany. The Wittenberg edition of 1702

[8] This is the opposite of Schottel, p. 586, who gives only *geschach*.

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has only one-fourth new forms, whereas in the Nürnberg edition of the same year the new forms predominate, three-fifths to two-fifths.

Just why Moser confined himself to examining only the 49 cases he gives, I fail to see. They were certainly not the only occurrences of the sing. pret. of verbs of this class, for I noted no less than 160 instances, counting those given by Moser, which I carefully compared. If he desired to make such an examination at all, it should have been based on all the instances occurring and not on just a few.

The edition of 1671 has made considerable progress in introducing the new forms when compared with earlier editions. Moser's statement for 1622 is that *ei* is retained in all but two cases: *erschien* (Ex. 16, 10) and *schriebe* (Judith 4, 5) which already appear in the edition of 1545. In the Bible of 1671 66 new forms appear to 532 old forms, or about in the proportion of one to eight. Still this is much less than the Ulm edition of 1671, with two-sevenths new forms and the Nuremberg edition of 1698, which has one-fourth, and the Nuremberg edition of 1702, which has three-fifths, as we have seen. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century the old forms disappeared quite rapidly, still a goodly number continued over into the eighteenth century. The Canstein edition of 1712, however, replaced all the old *ei*. How much more archaic the language of the Bible is than that of the vernacular is shown by the fact that Schottel in 1663 gives no instance of *ei*.

Taking the individual verbs in alphabetical order the statistics for the Bible of 1671 are as follows:

beissen: *beiß* twice (Num. 21, 9; Acts 20, 11).

gleissen: occurs only in the pres. 3, sg. *gleisset* (Jer. 2, 22).

bleiben: *bleib* 114 (Num. 21, 9; 2 Sam. 13, 20); *blieb* 14 (Gen. 28, 11; Tob. 2, 13); subj. *bliebe* (Ezek. 17, 14; Tob. 9, 4).

leiden: *leid* or *leyd* four (Gen. 41, 55; 1 Pet. 2, 23); none of *litt.*

(er)greiffen: *(er)greiff* 38 (Gen. 44, 6; Matth. 8, 15); one of *griff* (2 Macc. 14, 17).

reissen: *reiss* 70 (Ps. 18, 20, etc.); once *zurisse*, (ind) (Jdg. 14, 6).

reiten: *reit* nine (Deut. 22, 22; 1 Sam. 25, 20, etc.); once *du rittest* (Hab. 4, 8).

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(er)scheinen: *(er)schein* 25 (Gen. 12, 7; 18, 1, etc.); *(er)schien* 22 (Ex. 3, 2; Matth. 1, 20, etc.); one of *erschiene* (2 Mac. 11, 8). One sees that in this verb the new forms are almost as numerous as the old.

schleichen: *schleich* once (Tob. 8, 15); *beschlich* twice (Gen. 41, 4; 42, 21).

schmeissen: only one case: *du schmissest* (Hab. 4, 13).

(be)schneiden: *schneid*, 11 (Ex. 39, 3; Acts 7, 8); *beschneid*, five (1 Macc. 2, 46, etc.).

schreiben: *schreib*, 42 (Ex. 24, 4; 34, 25); *schrieb*, eight (Dan. 5, 5); *unterschrieb* one (Dan. 6, 10); *schriebe*, one (Judith 4, 5).

schreien: *schrey*, 33 (Gen. 27, 34; Jonah 2, 2); none of *schrie*.

schweigen: *schweig*, ten (Gen. 34, 5; Matth. 26, 63; Acts 15, 12); *schwieg*, one (Gen. 24, 21), also found in 1622; subj., *ihr schwieget* (Job 13, 5).

steigen: *steig*, 31 (Josh. 4, 19; 2 Sam. 7, 18); none of *stieg*.

streichen: *bestrich*, one (Judith 16, 10) *streich* does not occur; plural is *strichen* (1 Sam. 14, 22); 3. pres. *streichet* (1 Cor. 9, 26; 2 Cor. 11, 20).

streiten: *streit*, 34 (Ex. 17, 8; Josh. 10, 14); two false pret.: *streitet* (Jdg. 9, 45); *stritte* (Judith 5, 14).

treiben: *treib*, 37 (Gen. 3, 24; Jdg. 1, 20); *trieb*. 15 (Mk. 5, 40; Acts 7, 19; 18, 16; 18, etc.).

weichen: *weich*, 31 (Gen. 12, 9; John 6, 15, etc.); no other form; subj. *abwiche* (Judith 5, 15).

Weak Forms of Verbs now Strong

Some verbs now strong have only weak forms in 1671:

preisen: *preiseten* (Gen. 12, 15); *gepreiset* (Luke 4, 15). This verb from French *priser* was originally weak. Such forms continue in part down to the nineteenth century, though strong forms appear as early as the fifteenth.[9]

gleichen: *ich gleichet* (Wis. 7, 9); *vergleichet*, ppl. (Prov. 27, 15); strong forms of this originally weak verb do not appear before the seventeenth cent.; weak forms are found occasionally as late as Schiller.[10]

[9] *DWb.* VII, 2093.
[10] Heyne, *DWb.* I, 1200.

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leihen: *leiheten* (Ex. 12, 36), but the strong ppl. *geliehen* occurs Jer. 15, 10, both instances in Luther.

meiden: *meidete* (Tob. 1, 10); *meidet*, pret. (Tob. 1, 5; Job 1, 1); weak forms of this originally strong verb are not found before the sixteenth century.[11]

scheinen has the weak pret. **scheinete** (1 Macc. 6, 39), as in L., otherwise it is strong, as given above. The weak forms which do not occur before the sixteenth century may be under influence of the MLG.[12]

schmeissen in the meaning " befoul " has always been weak from OHG. down to the eighteenth century.[13] A weak pret. *schmeyste* occurs Tob. 2, 11.

speien: *speyete* (Jonah 2, 11; Matth. 15, 9; Wis. 11, 19); *ausgespeyet* (Lev. 18, 28; Num. 12, 13; 2 Pet. 2, 22). Weak forms appear in the twelfth century and are very common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[14] Schottel gives both strong and weak forms.

weisen: *anweisete* (Gen. 46, 28); *beweiseten* (2 Macc. 14, 22); *weiset*, pret. (Ex. 15, 25); *unterweiseten* (Acts 14, 21); *beweiset*. ppl. (Ps. 31, 22); *überweiset*, ppl. (2 Macc. 4, 45); *geweiset* (Matth. 3, 7). Strong forms of this originally weak verb begin in the fifteenth century and dominate since the sixteenth,[15] but are not found in the Bible of 1671, though they are the only ones given by Schottel, p. 580 and 602.

A few instances of the old strong forms of *versiegen* were noted, which in older NHG. was *verseigen* and *verseihen* (Jer. 51, 36). The imperative is *verseige* (Is. 44, 27); the past ppl. *versiegen* (Ps. 107, 33; Hos. 9, 14); this latter form is the only one in Schottel and is used sporadically as late as Herder. The present tense of the new weak verb is also found: inf. *versiegen* (Is. 19, 5); 3rd plu. *versiegen* (Sir. 40, 13).

The preterite plural of verbs of the first class conforms to the modern norm: with long vowel: *blieben* (Num. 11, 5; 14, 38); *(er)schienen* (2 Macc. 10, 29); *schryen* (Ps. 22, 6); *schwiegen* (Acts

[11] Schottel gives both strong and weak forms.
[12] *DWb.* VIII, 2442.
[13] *Ibid.*, IX, 999.
[14] *Ibid*, X, 2076.
[15] Heyne, *DWb.* III, 1355.

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11, 18); *stiegen* (Josh. 4, 18); *trieben* (Ps. 107, 23); with short vowel: *bissen* (Num. 21, 6); *litten* (Wis. 18, 1), or *lidten* (1 Sam. 2, 5); *wichen* (Acts 1, 4). Similarly with the past ppl. e.g. *erlidten* (Tob. 7, 20; 1 Kings 2, 26; 26); *gewichen* (2 Chr. 8, 15).

Second Class

In the second class the old diphthong *eu* of the 2nd and 3rd sing. ind. is the only form used, as also in Schottel. A great many instances occur of which I will give only one in each case: *entbeut* (1 Mac. 10, 18); *gebeut* (Gen. 45, 19); *fleuget* (Prov. 26, 2); *fleusst* (Jer. 32, 22); *fleucht* (Wis. 1, 5); *verdreusst* (Gen. 27, 26); *(ver)geusst* (Gen. 9, 6); *gefreuert* (Sir. 43, 21); *verleuret* (Matth. 10, 39); *geneusst* (Prov. 26, 8); *leugt* (*lügt*) (2 Kings 4, 16); *reucht* (Jdg. 16, 9); *scheusst* (Prov. 26, 8); *beschleusst* (Job 33, 14); *zeucht* (Gen. 32, 6); *erzeucht* (Ezek. 19, 2); *treuget* (Prov. 12, 5); *betrügen* has the old *ie* in the inf. (Prov. 32, 20) and *betreuget* (Prov. 12, 17; 24, 23) in the 3rd sing. The imp. sing. also has *eu*, as we should expect: *beut* (Ruth 4, 8); *geuss* (Ex. 4, 9); *verleur* (Sir. 29, 13); *scheuß* (Ps. 144, 6); *schleuß* (Matth. 6, 6); the pret. subj. always has *ö*, never *ü*, e.g. *flöge* (Ps. 55, 9); *flögen* (Ps. 90, 11) *zerflössen* (Is. 64, 1); *gösse* (Lev. 11, 38); *flöhe* (Deut. 19, 5). The inf. *Liegen* occurs in connection with *Triegen* (Ps. 55, 12), also by itself as noun (Hos. 4, 2) and as inf. (Ezek. 12, 24), otherwise the inf. and plu. appear as *lügen* (Ps. 89, 36; Matth. 5, 11); two cases of the 2nd plu. *lüget* occur (Col. 3, 9; Jas. 3, 14), one case of the subj. *liege* (Num. 23, 19); *schnauben* has the weak pret. *schnaubeten* (Wis. 11, 19), as in Luther. One case of the analogical imp. occurs as *biete* (Matth. 5, 39). In the pret. plu. there is no trace of the MHG. *u*, all the forms having *o: flohen* (Matth. 8, 33); *flossen* (Ps. 105, 41); *ergossen* (Ps. 78, 21); *rochen* (Dan. 10, 7); *soffen* (Dan. 5, 4); *zogen* (Gen. 43, 15). Moser makes no comment on these forms, nor was it necessary, as Luther already used *o*, though Hans Sachs still wavers between *u* and *o* in the plu. The pret. sing. has *o* everywhere, as is to be expected: *droschest* (Hab. 4, 12); *floh* (Num. 14, 34); *sod* (2 Sam. 13, 8); *soff* (Dan. 5, 1).

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Third Class

In the pret. plu. of the third class the old *u* is still everywhere preserved: *bunden* (Ex. 39, 31; Acts 27, 17, etc.); *drungen* (Ex. 12, 33, etc.) but *drangen* (1 Mac. 3, 5); *funden* (Gen. 44, 8, etc.); *verschlungen* (Gen. 41, 24, etc.); *schwungen* (Ezek. 10, 16; 19; 11, 22); *sprungen* (Gen. 31, 10; Acts 14, 14; Judith 15, 16; 1 Mac. 13, 14); *sturben* (Ex. 7, 21; 8, 13; Ps. 107, 20, etc.); *suncken* (Ex. 15, 10; Luke 5, 7); *sungen* (Ps. 106, 12, etc.); *stuncken* (1 Chr. 20, 6); *trunket* (Zech. 7, 6); *entrunnen* (Sam. 4, 6); (*unter*)*wunden* (Acts 19, 13; Wis. 17, 8).

Only in the case of verb with *r* like *werden*, *werfen* and *verbergen*, do we find a form with the MidG. *o* by the side of *u*, e.g. 59 cases of *wurden* (Gen. 8, 2; Ex. 1, 7, etc.) to 16 of *worden* (Gen. 6, 4; Ex. 5, 14, etc.); 11 cases of *wurffen* (Gen. 37, 24; Matth. 27, 35 etc.) to 34 of *worffen* (Ps. 60, 6; Matth. 4, 18, etc.); *verbergen* has two forms: *verborgen* (2 Kings 7, 8) and *verbargen* (2 Kings 11, 3; 2 Mac. 14, 30, two). In the pret. sing. of *werden* the usual form is *ward* (Ps. 105, 17; Jer. 52, 1, etc.); only two cases of *wurdest* (Ezek. 16, 5; 28, 13) and one of *wordest* (Jer. 1, 5).[16] Similarly verbs with *l* or *ll* frequently have forms with *o*: *helffen* has six cases of *hullfen* (1 Kings 1, 7, etc.) to three of *holffen* (Ezek. 16, 49; 1 Chr. 18, 20; Neh. 9, 27); *quollen* occurs Prov. 8, 24; *zuborsten*, 2 Chr. 25, 12; *gewonnen*, 2 Chr. 28, 12; Neh. 9, 25; *schallen* has the ppl. *auserschollen* (1 Thess. 1, 8; Jer. 46, 12), but the weak pret. *schallet* (Wis. 17, 19) by the side of *erschall* (Matth. 4, 24; 8, 26, etc.). Schottel gives: *erscholl* and pret. subj.: *erschülle*, p. 584; *schmelzen* has a pret. *zuschmaltz* (Wis. 19, 20), the pret. plu. *verschmoltzen* (Wis. 16, 22; Jdg. 15, 14), but also a weak pret. *verschmeltzet* (Wis. 16, 27); *melken* has the ppl. *gemolcken* (Job 10, 10); *dreschen* has both *i* and *e* in the sing. pres. ind., e.g. *drischet* (Jer. 51, 28; Hos. 10, 4) but *dreschet* (Is. 28, 27; 28, 28), also the imp. *dresche du* (Micah 4, 13); the

[16] In 1622, according to Moser, verbs having liquid + cons. are exactly divided between *u* and *o*. Schottel writes: *ich quall, du quollest, er quall, wir quollen*, etc. This seems to be a tendency to retain the MNG. *ü* in the 2d person. Thus Schottel gives *ich band. du bundest. er band; ich entgalt, du entgoltest; ich fand; du fundest; ich gelang, du gelungest; ich gewan, du gewunnest; ich ran, du runnest, er ran; ich schwand, du schwundest, er schwand;* likewise *du schwungest; ich sang, du sungest, er sung*, etc.; *ich spann, du spunnest.*

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pret. sing. has *o: droschest* (Hab. 4, 12); and *a: drasch* (Jdg. 6, 11; 1 Chr. 22, 20); the ppl. is regular: *gedroschen* (Amos 1, 3); *flechten* has a pret. plu. *flochten* (Mk. 15, 17; John 19, 2); *schelten* has the pret.: *schalt* (Neh. 13, 11; 17, 25; Mk. 16, 14), though Schottel gives: *du schultest* beside *schaltest* and pret. subj. *ich schülte*. One sees that there is much more regularity than in Luther who, though he generally distinguishes between the vowel of the sing. and that of the plu., occasionally has *u* in the sing. and *a* in the plu.[18]; the imp. of *befehlen* occurs as *befehl* (Ps. 37, 5) but *befiehl* (1 Kings 5, 6). The pret. subj. has no case with the modern form with *ä*, but always *ü*, e.g. *wir bünden* (Ex. 37, 7; Jer. 30, 13; Dan. 3, 20); *drüngen* (Mk. 3, 9); *fünde* (Gen. 4, 15, etc.); *gülte* (Dan. 4, 16); *klünge* (Sir. 45, 11); *entrünne* (Ps. 55, 9); *gewünne* (Matth. 16, 26); *schwümme* (Acts 27, 42); *verbürge* (Job 11, 10; 14, 13); *trüncke* (2 Sam. 11, 11); *sie süncken* (Ps. 46, 3); *sie verschlüngen* (Ps. 124, 3); *verdürben* (Jonah 1, 6; Wis. 18, 19); Luther has here *verdörben*. In the case of verbs with double nasal both *u* and *o* are found, e.g. *gewonnen* (Matth. 18, 15; 25, 20; 22; Jer. 20, 7), but *entrunnen* (Gen. 14, 13; Ps. 124, 7), as in 1622. A few weak forms of the pret. of *beginnen* were noted, e.g. *begunten* (Gen. 6, 1); the form *begont* occurs Ezek. 16, 50 where the 1545 edition had *begonste;*[19] *besinnen* has a weak pret. *besinnet* (Acts 10, 19; 12, 12).

Fourth Class

In the fourth class the sing. pres. ind. is regular, e.g. *ficht* (Job 15, 26)[20]; *gebieret* (Job 15, 35; 24, 21); the pret. of *flechten* occurs with *o: flochten* (Gen. 3, 7; Matth. 27, 29), already in Luther; also the pret. of *stehlen* is found as *stolen* (Matth. 28, 13); the pret. of *scheren* occurs as *beschor* (Acts 18, 18; 1 Chr. 20, 4) but also as *beschur* (1 Sam. 25, 2; 4; 2 Sam. 14, 24); pret. subj. *beschüre* (Jdg. 16, 19); this *u* form which occurs occasionally in older NHG. was probably formed in analogy to *schwur*.[21] The

[18] Schottel also gives both forms.

[19] Schottel gives the paradigm as: *Ich began* and *begunte, du beguntest, er begun* and *begunte*.

[20] Der 3d sing. pres. of *fechten*. Schottel, p. 584, gives both: *er ficht* and *er fechtet*.

[21] *DWb.* viii, Sp. 2570.

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old strong ppl. of *rächen* is found as *gerochen* (Gen. 4, 15; 24; 1 Sam. 25, 39; 2 Sam. 4, 8; Jdg. 11, 36) ten times, but the weak pret. occurs as *rächete* (1 Mac. 3, 15; 9, 26; 42; Wis. 11, 3; 18, 2; Acts 7, 24); Luther writes *rechete;*[22] *verhehlen* also always has the strong ppl. *verholen* (Gen. 39, 9; Ps. 139, 15; 2 Sam. 18, 14; Job 15, 18). No cases of a subj. pret. with *o* occur (cf. Schottel, p. 581).

Fifth Class

The verbs of this class show no irregularities with the exception of *wiegen*, which has the pret. *wug* in six cases (Gen. 23, 16; 2 Sam. 14, 26; Ezra 8, 25; 26; Jer. 32, 9; 10), but the subj. occurs as *wöge* (Job 6, 2); the inf. of the intransitive verb occurs as *wägen* (2 Kings 25, 16; Ps. 62, 10; Esther 3, 9; 4, 7). The only form given by Schottel is *wegen*.

Sixth Class

In this class *heben* shows only the old pret. with *u*, e.g. *hub* (Ex. 40, 37; Ps. 106, 26, etc.) *auffhubt* (Matth. 16, 9; 10), except in one case: *sie erhoben* (Ezek. 10, 16);[23] the subj. is *erhübe* (Deut. 22, 26; Ezek. 17, 14; Zech. 11, 10; 14). The regular form of the ppl. is *gehaben*, e.g. *auffgehaben* (Ps. 85, 4; Luke 10, 15, etc.) 22 cases; *überhaben* (Dan. 6, 3), but one case of *auffgehoben* occurs (Acts 27, 40); Luther writes *auffgehuben* here. In two instances *schlagen* has preserved the old inf. with *h: schlahen* (Ex. 1, 10; Hos. 14, 6), also the imp. *schlahe . . . ab* (Sir. 4, 4), *schlahe* (Sir. 38, 21); *entschlahe* (1 Tim. 4, 7; 5, 11; 2 Tim. 2, 16; 23; Titus 3, 4) and the 3rd sing. pres. ind. *beschlähet* (Wis. 13, 11), but otherwise the inf. and pres. always have *g*, e.g. *schlagen* (Ex. 3, 20, etc.) *schlägst* (Ex. 2, 13; Ps. 89, 11), *schlägt* (Is. 28, 27) and the imp. *schlag* (Ex. 8, 16; 1 Mac. 24, 2; Rev. 14, 18), where Luther still has *h; schaben* still has the strong ppl. *abgeschaben* (Lev. 14, 41) and *beschaben* (Lev. 13, 55), as in Luther; *stehen* is found only with the old pret. *stund*, e.g. (Gen. 7, 27, etc.), though *stand* is already found in the sixteenth century; subj. *bestünde* (Ezek. 17, 14); *backen* has *ch* in pret. in the three cases noted: *buch* (Gen. 19, 3; 1 Sam. 28, 24), *sie buchen* (Ex. 12,

[22] Schottel gives only three forms: *ich reche, du rechest.* ppl. *gerochen.*

[23] Schottel, p. 593, gives only *o.* in the pret.

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39) but *ck* in the present stem: *backen* (Ex. 16, 23), 3rd sing. *bäckt* (Is. 44, 15).[24] No instances of the strong pret. of *malen muhl* were noted, forms which are given by Schottel as the only ones. The subj. of *schaffen* is *schüffe* (Tob. 8, 20).

Reduplicating Verbs

In this class *fangen* shows only the older form with *h* in the present stem, e.g. inf. *empfahen* (Ps. 24, 5, etc.) *umbfahen* (Ps. 31, 10. etc.), *fähet* (Prov. 6, 26; Lev. 17, 13), 3rd plu. *fahen*, (imp. *fahe* (Sir. 9, 4); *fahet* (Song 1, 23; Luke 16, 18);[25] *hangen* has no case without the nasal; the intransitive verb has no umlaut; *soll anhangen* (Num. 36, 7); *ein jeglicher hange an seinem Erbe* (Num. 36, 9); *scheiden* retains the old ppl. in many cases, e.g. *gescheiden* (Gen. 13, 14; Luke 16, 18), but also has some *ie* forms: *unterschieden* (Sir. 33, 8; 11), *geschieden* (2 Sam. 1, 23; Sir. 38, 24; 2 Mac. 11, 23), *verschieden* (2 Mac. 6, 31; 7, 7); the noun occurs with both forms: *Abscheid* (Wis. 3, 2), but *Abschied* (2 Cor. 2, 13; 2 Pet. 1, 15); *Unterscheid* (Gen. 1, 6; Ex. 26, 53; Acts 15, 9, etc.) but *Unterschied* (Ezek. 44, 23); *spannen* shows the strong ppl. *gespannen* (Zech. 9, 13), but also the weak form *gespannet* (Wis. 5, 22); *hauen* has the pret. form *hieb* (Ex. 34, 4; Matth. 26, 51), *hieben* (2 Mac. 10, 37) which Luther already used, but also the weak pret. *hauet* (Judith 3, 10); also the umlauted present forms *häuest* (Prov. 23, 13; 14) and *er häuet* (Is. 10, 15) which Luther wrote *hewest* (Schottel gives no umlaut); the ppl. is strong: *gehauen* (Zech. 11, 2; Judith 14, 14). The ppl. of *saltzen* is strong: *gesaltzen* (Mark. 9, 49); similarly *gespalten* (Job. 16, 33).

Preterite Presents

Among the preterite present verbs I discovered no instance of the old verb *türren* (*tar*), which is still common in the sixteenth century, but a number of cases of *taugen* still as a pret. pres. verb were noted: e.g. 3rd sing. *taug* (Ex. 8, 26; Acts 6, 2; Num. 1, 3; Sir. 40, 5; Jer. 1, 6); the plu. is *tügen* (Num. 4, 3; 30; 8, 24; 26, 2; Job 15, 3; Ps. 14, 1; 53, 2) the inf. *tügen* (Ps. 141, 23; Ezek. 15, 4)

[24] This is in accord with Schottel, p. 579, who writes: *er bekket; wir bakken: Ich buch*, etc.

[25] Schottel, p. 584, gives only *ng*.

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pres. ppl. *tügend* (Wis. 4, 5). The old pret. occurs also in the form *tuchte* (Jer. 13, 7; Num. 1, 20, etc.), 14 cases in Num. 1; *tuchten* (Num. 4, 35; 39, 43), but also with *o* as *tochte* (2 Mac. 12, 21). These old forms occur in German sporadically as late as the eighteenth century, Brockes rhyming *tügen* with *vergnügen*. One case of the weak pret. occurs as *taugte* (Jer. 13, 7). The verb *wissen* has *ß* in the 3rd sing.: *weiß* (Ps. 94, 11, etc.), but before *t* only *s* is used: *du weist* (Ps. 139, 2; Num. 11, 16, etc.), *weistu* (Prov. 30, 4; Josh. 24, 31), though *weisst* occurs occasionally (Num. 20, 15; Job 38, 18; 33) and two-syllable forms with *ss* are found: *du weissest* (Ps. 69, 7; Prov. 27, 1); the 2d sing. of *wollen* is always *du wilt* (Ex. 20, 25; Ps. 35, 17, etc.);[26] similarly *du solt* (Gen. 21, 1; Jer. 1, 7, etc.), but on the other hand *du kanst* (Ps. 18, 40, etc.) and *du magst* (1 Chr. 23, 14); the sing. pres. of *sollen* is written with *l* and *ll*, e.g. *sol* (Gen. 15, 3; Lev. 2, 3), *soll* (Gen. 17, 10; Lev. 2, 1), *du solt* (Gen. 3, 16; 17, 5); also *ihr solt* (Gen. 3, 1; 12, 2, etc.) and *ihr sollt* (Gen. 3, 11; Ex. 9, 14, etc.).

Perfective Verbs

The perfective verbs which in the older German did not prefix *ge* to the past ppl. are mostly still used that way. Thus no instance of *geworden* or *gekommen* was noted, but always *worden* (Gen. 2, 4; 3, 8, etc.) and *kommen* (Gen. 6, 13; Matth. 2, 12, etc.); *finden* has mostly *funden* (Gen. 2, 20; Ex. 33, 12, etc.), 111 cases to 12 of *gefunden* (Josh. 10, 17; 1 Sam. 9, 20, etc.); *bringen* is divided, 113 cases of *bracht* (Gen. 12, 15; Ex. 6, 8, etc.) or *umbracht* or *herzubracht* (Ezek. 30, 11; Dan. 4, 3) to 68 of *gebracht* or compounds (Gen. 19, 17; Matth. 19, 13, etc.); similarly *gehen* has 71 cases of *gangen* and compounds (Ps. 89, 35; Gen. 15, 12, etc.) to 111 of *gegangen* or compounds (Gen. 19, 23; Ps. 109, 8, etc.), the forms without *ge* predominating almost two to one. *Bleiben* is still felt to be a compound and but one case of *geblieben* (Jdg. 2, 22) was noted, otherwise only such forms as *blieben* (2 Sam. 1, 1; Num. 11, 26, etc.), *überblieben* (Gen. 42, 38; Ex. 10, 15; 2 Sam. 9, 1, etc.). The ppl. of *essen* is always *gessen* (Gen. 3, 11; Ruth 3, 3, etc.) or *ungessen* (Matth. 15, 32; Acts 27, 33), never *gegessen* except in one case (Eccl. 2, 25),

[26] Schottel gives *du wilst* first.

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already found in 1545; *geben* is divided: *geben* (Ps. 60, 5), but *gegeben* in the very next verse (Ps. 60, 6). The ppl. *kriegt* was noted three times (Ex. 8, 15; Lam. 1, 6; Hos. 7, 9) *gekriegt* once (Sir. 29, 31); *troffen* was noted 13 times (Ps. 119, 143; Jdg. 14, 12, etc.) to three cases of *getroffen* (Josh. 7, 18; 1 Sam. 10, 20; 21). One case of the ppl. *herfürbrochen* was noted (Sir. 24, 38); the ppl. of *offenbaren* is always without *ge* (Luke 17, 30; Rev. 3, 18, etc.).

Rückumlaut

As to Rückumlaut, it is gradually losing ground, but it still is used quite frequently in verbs that no longer have it today. In *setzen* the pret. *satzte* (Gen. 48, 2; Matth. 13, 17, etc.), *entsatzte sich* (Matth. 7, 28; 12, 23, etc., *besatzten* (Judith 4, 7), etc. were noted 112 times to 87 cases of *setzte* (Ex. 40, 22; Prov. 8, 29, etc.) and *setzet* as pret. (Ex. 40, 18; 1 Sam. 17, 38, etc.), whereas in the edition of 1622 the Rückumlaut is completely preserved in this verb. The ppl., however, exhibits only the *e* form, e.g. *gesetzt* (Gen. 45, 8; 27, 37, etc.), *entsetzt* (Ps. 48, 6, etc.), all told 96 cases; in *stecken* the pret. always has *e*, e.g. *steckte* (Ex. 4, 6); *streckte* (Gen. 48, 14, etc.), likewise only *stellet* as pret. (Gen. 47, 2; 7, etc.) and *wecketen* (Matth. 8, 25); *senden* has usually *a* forms: *sandte* (Gen. 31, 4; 42, 28, etc.) and *gesandt* (Gen. 45, 5, etc.), but 15 cases of the pret. *sendet*, all in 1 Mac. 5, 49; only one case of *gesendet* was noted (2 Mac. 4, 20); the subj. pret. always has *e* (e.g., Mk. 3, 14; Neh. 2, 6). In *kennen* the usage is divided, 29 cases of *kante*, etc. to 22 of *bekennete* (Gen. 45, 1, etc.), *kenneten* (Acts 13, 27, etc.); the pret. subj. has always *e*, e.g. *ich erkennete* (2 Cor. 2, 9), *ihr erkennetet* (John 14, 7); 34 cases of the ppl. with *a* were noted to eight with *e*, e.g. *erkennet* (Deut. 34, 10, etc.); in *nennen* the *e* forms predominate, e.g. 20 of *nennete* (Acts 14, 12, etc.) to one of *nant* (Gen. 26, 33), 52 of *genennet* (Gen. 19, 23, etc.) to 18 of *genant* (Gen. 26, 18; 47, 22, etc.) and *benannt* (Gen. 47, 22); the pret. of *rennen* seems to be *rennet* (1 Mac. 11, 72; 2 Mac. 3, 25; 12, 35); in *wenden* we have 75 cases of *wandte* (Deut. 2, 1; Josh. 8, 20, etc.) to 17 of *wendet* as pret. (Acts 19, 24; 2 Kings 19, 9, etc.); the pret. subj. is *wendete* (Acts 13, 8; Neh. 9, 17); in the ppl. 25 of *gewandt* (Deut. 29, 18; 1 Sam. 15, 19, etc.) or *entwandt* (Deut. 23, 15; 2

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Sam. 7, 15, etc.) to 13 of *gewendet* (Num. 31, 16; Deut. 13, 17, etc.) or *entwendet* (1 Mac. 10, 42); *brennen* has 27 cases in pret. with *a* (Ex. 3, 2; Josh. 8, 27, etc.) to 10 with *e* in the ind. (Wis. 16, 19; 1 Mac. 5, 44) nearly all in 1 Mac.; the pret. subj. has *e*, e.g. *verbrennete* (Wis. 16, 22); the ppl. has 28 with *a* (Ex. 3, 2; Josh. 8, 27, etc.) to eight with *e*, *gebrennet* (Jer. 34, 5; Ezek. 19, 11, etc.); in *drücken* the pres. has the umlaut, but the pret. and ppl. seem to have only the Rückumlaut, e.g. five cases of *drucket*, pret. (Ps. 38, 3; 2 Chr. 16, 10; Job 6, 17; Tob. 14, 15; 2 Mac. 12, 23) and three cases of the ppl. *unterdrucket* (Job 20, 19; 24, 24; Bar. 2, 5); *rücken* has usually umlaut in the present stem, nine cases, over against one of *verrucken* (Hos. 6, 10) and one of *aufruckt* (Sir. 29, 32); the ppl. has umlaut in four cases noted: *hingerückt* (1 Thess. 4, 17), *entrückt* (Rev. 12, 5), *verrücket* (2 Cor. 11, 3; Eph. 6, 24) to one case of *hingeruckt* (Wis. 4, 11); *entzücken* has Rückumlaut in four cases of the ppl. noted *entzucket* (Sir. 46, 3; 2 Mac. 5, 3; Acts 10, 10; 11, 5) and *gezuckt* (Ezek. 21, 28; 32, 20) to one case of *entzücket* (2 Cor. 12, 4). The old Rückumlaut forms of *dünken* are found, e.g. *dauchte* (Acts 12, 9; 15, 22, etc.) 13 times and *gedaucht* (1 Chr. 18, 17; Acts 15, 25) twice; one pret. *dunket* (2 Kings 8, 15) was noted; the pret. subj. occurs as *deuchte* (2 Sam. 19, 6); in *bedräuen*, 14 cases of the pret. *bedrauete* were noted (Mark 1, 40; 3, 12; Luke 4, 35, etc.) to one of *bedräuten* (Mark 10, 48); *fürchten* also seems to have survivals of Rückumlaut. The present stem always has umlaut, but the pret. usually is written as *furchte(n)*, (e.g. Gen. 3, 10; 18, 15; Matth. 14, 5; Ex. 14, 10), 45 cases in all, as compared to three instances of *fürchtete* (Ex. 3, 6; Ezek. 22, 23; 1 Mac. 10, 8); the ppl., however, is always *gefürchtet*, e.g. (Tob. 2, 13; 1 Mac. 8, 12). No cases of *schankte* or of the strong form *beschank* are found, as they are not in Luther, although Schottel gives them as usual (p. 580).

The False Analological Preterite in e

This false preterite of strong verbs is especially frequent in verbs whose roots end in *h*, like *sehen*, *fliehen*. The pret. of *sehen* is always *sahe*, e.g. (Ps. 106, 44; Num. 21, 9, etc.); of *flohe* I noted 61 cases (e.g. Gen. 14, 10; Ex. 4, 3, etc.), but *floh* occurs in

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two cases noted (Ex. 2, 15; Jdg. 4, 15) before a following consonant and two before a following vowel: *floh es* (Jdg. 11, 3) and *floh er* (1 Mac. 15, 11). The form *geschahe* was noted five times (Luke, 24, 15; John 10, 35; Acts 7, 31; 28, 8; 9), but the form is usually either *geschah* (Matth. 27, 54; Acts 1, 2, etc.) or *geschach* (Matth. 21, 4; Jer. 27, 1, etc.), this latter being noted seven times. I noted one case of *fande* (Ex. 35, 23) and eight of *lase* (Ruth 2, 17; Acts 8, 28) but *las* occurs in the next verse but one (Acts 8, 30 and 31). The following instances were also noted: *lage* (2 Mac. 1, 21); *litte* (2 Mac. 7, 20); *erschiene* (2 Mac. 11, 8); *flochte* (Judith 10, 3; 16, 10); *schriebe* (Judith 4, 5); *stritte* (Judith 5, 14); *zurisse* (Jdg. 14, 6). It will be noticed that most of the occurrences are in the apocrypha.

Unusual Verbs and Verb Forms

The following unusual meanings of verbs were noted: *begreifen* in the sense of *betasten* (Gen. 27, 21), which is still used in this passage in the modern Bible; also *begriffen* in the sense of *ergriffen* (Jer. 2, 26); *untertreten* (Gen. 27, 36) with the meaning "mit Füssen treten"; *gehebet* (Ex. 29, 27) in the sense of "heaved"; *recken* for *strecken* is uniformly used: *ausgerecket* (Ex. 6, 6; Ps. 136, 12), *recke . . . aus* (Ex. 7, 19, etc.), still used by Goethe; *weben* is frequently used in the sense of the wind blowing, e.g. *webeten die Winde* (Matth. 7, 25; 27) where the modern version uses *weheten;* also in the meaning "to wave" (e.g. Ex. 29, 24; 26; Ps. 78, 28). It is said to have been introduced by Luther and reminds one of the frequent use of *weben* by Goethe in Faust, especially in the speech of the Erdgeist, where the phrase "webe hin und her" of the Urfaust was later replaced by "Wehe hin und her"; ekeln has mostly the Upper German form *eckelt* (Job 33, 20, etc.), whereas Luther wrote *ekeln.* The verb *lecken* occurs (Ps. 29, 6) in the sense of "hüpfen" (the modern version writes *löcken*), otherwise it is used only in such expressions as "*gegen den Stachel löcken,*" e.g. *warum leckst du wider meine Opfer* (1 Sam. 2, 29); *häuen* in the sense of "sprühen" occurs, Ps. 29, 7 (the modern version uses *sprühen* here). The causative *schweigen* is used in the sense of "schweigen machen," e.g. *geschweigt werden* (Ps. 31, 18), still

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used in the modern version, otherwise rare, though Grimm's dictionary gives an example as late as Hebbel. The verb *bahnen* occurs twice with the umlaut form *bähnen*, common to Luther and the Silesian School: *auf gebähntem Pfad* (Prov. 12, 28; Jer. 2, 6), but *gebahnet* (Prov. 15, 19) where the edition of 1545 writes *gebenet*. The rare verb *schossen*, "to sprout," occurs in the ppl. *geschosset* (Ex. 9, 31); *verschleissen*, rare except in the ppl. *verschlissen*, was noted Sir. 14, 18: *alles Fleisch verschleisst wie ein Kleid; stimmen* is used in the sense of *bestimmen*, e.g. *stimme das Lohn* (Gen. 30, 28); *belegen* in the sense of *belagern* (Josh. 10, 5; 31, 34; Jdg. 9, 50; 1 Sam. 23, 8; 2 Sam. 16, 1; Eccl. 9, 14); the subj. *müsse* is still used in the older meaning "möge" (Ruth 2, 12; Ezek. 11, 17); *zauen* in the sense of "delay" (MHG. *zouwen*, MLG. *touwen*) occurs as *zaue dich* (2 Sam. 5, 24), where the modern version uses *säumen; geliegen*, meaning "zum Liegen kommen," still found in the dialects, occurs 1 Sam. 4, 19; *brochen*, a variant of *brachen*, "to prepare the soil" used by Luther, occurs Job 39, 13; Is. 28, 24, but also has the vowel *a* (Is. 28, 24); *strampfen* in the meaning of *stampfen* is used Job 39, 24; *lechen* for *lecken* (modern form *zerlechzen*) occurs in the form: *und der Eymer zuleche am Born* (Eccl. 12, 6); *berdet* for *geberdet* occurs Is. 61, 10 (the modern version uses *bärdet*); *flötzen*, meaning "*flössen*," still in the dialects, is found Job 14, 19; *gewarten*, common in the older language in the sense of "erwarten," occurs 2 Kings 6, 33; Jer. 31, 17; *beleidigen* in the older meaning of "hurt" occurs twice: *beleidigen das Gras* (Rev. 9, 4); *beleidigen die Menschen* (Rev. 9, 10); *sich lenden* with the meaning "lenken" occurs (Num. 34, 4; 5) as in Luther; *fretzen*, the iterative to *fressen*, common in the sixteenth century, appears here as *auffretzen*, (Num. 22, 4; 4); *pfetzen*, in the sense of "zwicken," now rare except provincially, occurs twice (Lev. 19, 28; 21, 25); *engern*, "eng machen" is found Deut. 27, 17; *hobeln* still has Luther's form *höfeln*, e.g. *ich höfel* (Hos. 6, 5); *gehöfelt* (1 Kings 6, 36; 2 Chr. 34, 11); *darwägen*, like "darstellen," occurs 1 Kings 20, 39; Esther 3, 9; 4, 7; Job 28, 15; also *darsetzen* (Bel. 10; Luke 19, 8); *dargegeben* (Gal. 2, 20); *aufgebieten*, "aufbieten," common in Luther, occurs 1 Mac. 9, 63; *sich enthalten*, "to remain," common in Luther, is used frequently

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(Gen. 12, 10; Ex. 8, 22; Jer. 40, 7; 13; Judith 5, 12; 1 Mac. 14, 36; 2 Mac. 5, 27; 15, 1; Acts 1, 3); *pausen* in the sense of "blasen," cf. Pausbacken, occurs Job 6, 26; *verseihen* occurs Jer. 51, 36, where the modern version uses *versiegen;* the rare verb *lören*, "heulen," which however was a favorite with Luther, occurs Hos. 7, 14; *fordern* in the MidG. form *fodern* (corresponding to Luther's *foddern*) is found Gen. 43, 9; Ex. 10, 15, etc., but *fordern* is just as frequent (e.g. Ex. 10, 24; Jdg. 10, 18, etc.); the shorter form *ängsten* is used in preference to *ängstigen*, thus Ps. 13, 3; 55, 5, etc.; *geängstet* (Ps. 6, 8; Deut. 4, 30, etc.); *berden* for *gebärden*, common in L. occurs once (Is. 61, 10); *übersetzen*, used in sense of "outbid," found in L., occurs once: *sie wuchern und übersetzen einander* (Ezek. 22, 12).

Weak Forms

The old weak form of the pret. of the verb *tun* occurs as *thät* (no longer written with *e* as in Luther) and is found more frequently than *that*, 163 cases of *thät* being noted (Gen. 42, 25; Ex. 4, 30, etc.) to 28 of *that* (Gen. 8, 6; Ps. 107, 17, etc.); even in the plural where the correct form is *thaten*, 93 cases of *thäten* (Gen. 7, 11; 41, 48, etc.) were noted to nine of *thaten* (Acts 5, 23; 12, 16, etc.); one case of *thäte* in the ind. occurs 2 Kings 13, 23, with the retention of the final *e* of MHG. *tete*. The weak ppl. *gewest* of *sein* was noted 22 times (Gen. 2, 5; Ps. 107, 11, etc.) but *gewesen* largely outnumbers it, as 141 instances were found; the weak forms all follow the example of the edition of 1545, except in one case (Matth. 25, 21) where Luther has *gewesen;* the strong forms likewise follow 1545, except in one case (Acts 26, 15) where Luther writes *gewest*.

The verb *preisen* is still conjugated weak, e.g. *preiseten* (Gen. 12, 15; Acts 10, 46, etc.), *gepreiset* (Matth. 6, 2; Lev. 19, 24, etc.); similarly *weisen* and its compounds, e.g. *weiset*, pret. (Matth. 2, 8), *anweisete* (Gen. 46, 28), *erweisete* (Acts 8, 28), *unterweiseten* (Acts 14, 21), *beweisete* (Ps. 106, 8), ppl. *beweiset* (Ps. 31, 22; 77, 15; Acts 2, 22). Six cases of a weak pret. of *scheiden* were noted: *scheidet* (Gen. 1, 4; 30, 40; Ezra 10, 16; Neh. 13, 3) and *scheideten* (Gen. 1, 18; 2 Kings 2, 11), otherwise the pret. is always *schied*, according to the reduplicating class. One

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case of a weak pret. of *leihen* occurs: *leiheten* (Ex. 12, 36, as in Luther. The older weak ppl. of *vergleichen* is found as *vergleichet* (Prov. 27, 15; Heb. 7, 3). One instance of a weak pret. of *leiden* occurs as *leidet* (Matth. 14, 24, whereas the forms are otherwise strong: *leidt* (1 Pet. 2, 23) and *lidten* (Wis. 11, 6). In this passage Luther uses the old pret. form *leid;* probably the revisers were not sure whether the new form *litt* was correct and preferred to use the weak verb instead. Eleven cases of the weak verb *ruffen* were noted: *ruffete* (Matth. 25, 14), *ruffeten* (Matth. 22, 3), *ruffet* (Judith 10, 2) etc., otherwise only strong forms occur. Two cases of the older weak pret. of *besinnen* occur: *besinnet* (Acts 10, 19; 12, 12), as in Luther. The transitive verb *verderben* occurs always weak: *verderbete* (Ps. 106, 23), *verderbeten* (Jdg. 12, 19; 6, 4; 5; Ps. 78, 46), ppl. *verderbet* (Ps. 80, 14). An unusual weak ppl. of *überheben* occurs as *überhebet haben* (Acts 27, 21), as in 1545; the forms are otherwise all strong and the modern version uses *überhoben* here. The verb *dingen* exhibits only the older weak forms: pret. *dingeten* (2 Chr. 24, 12; Ezra 4, 5), *gedinget* (Ex. 22, 15; Matth. 20, 7); *spalten*, originally a reduplicating verb, has only the weak pret. *spaltet* (Acts 14, 4), so also Luther; the weak forms are MidG. and the strong pret. occurs in Hans Sachs and as late as Simplicissimus, 4, 171. Similarly *salzen* has only the weak pret. *salzten* (Lev. 2, 13; Matth. 5, 13; Tob. 6, 7). Luther uses the weak form and the last strong form occurs in Hans Sachs 1560; [27] the ppl. is of course strong, e.g. *gesaltzen* (Mk. 9, 49).

Adjectives

Many interesting and unusual adjectives occur. The superlative *oberst* is found occasionally with umlaut; 21 cases of *der öberste* were noted (Gen. 49, 3; 4; Ezek. 17, 4, etc.) as compared to three of *oberst* (Ezek. 43, 20; 1 Mac. 2, 55; Sus. 41); as a military title it is used without umlaut (Dan. 2, 48; Judith 5, 1, etc.); two cases of the comparative with umlaut were noted: *öbern* (Ezek. 41, 9; 2 Kings 18, 17) but *obern* is found 2 Mac. 9, 23, where 1545 uses the umlaut. In the case of the adj. *golden* the older form *gülden* alone occurs (Num. 4, 11; 7, 14, etc.), in fact, it was still used up to the beginning of the eighteenth

[27] See my dissertation, *Das ablautende Verbum in Hans Sachs.*

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century. The uninflected form of *ja*-stem adj. still ends in *e*, e.g. *ein böse Geschrey* (Num. 13, 23; Ezek. 36, 3); *ein dritte Theil* (2 Kings 11, 6); *ein wüste Feld* (Is. 16, 8; Sir. 25, 30); *ein dünne Fell* (Is. 40, 22). Umlaut occurs in the comp. of *glatt* and *fromm*, quite common in the older NHG., e.g. *glätter* (Prov. 5, 3; Ps. 55, 22), *frömmer* (Prov. 2 Einl.). By the side of *albern* the shorter form *alber* also occurs, (Prov. 9, 6; 16); *ein Alber* (Prov. 14, 15), plural, *die Alben* (Prov. 14, 18), but also *die Albern* (Prov. 27, 12). The oldest form *gel* of *gelb* occurs frequently (Ex. 26, 1; 4; 31; 36; 28, 5; 6; 35, 6; 25); *risch*, meaning *rasch*, is found 1 Sam. 20, 38; *eindächtig* is used for *eingedenk*, 1 Thess. 2, 9; *unordig* for *unordentlich*, 2 Thess. 3, 7; 11; *schüchter*, a shorter form of *schüchtern*, 1 Pet. 3, 6; *hären* is written *härin* (Rev. 6, 12) with *i*, as in Luther; *einländisch* occurs in the meaning of "einheimisch" (1 Mac. 11, 38). The unusual adj. *unseuchtig*, a derivative of *Seuchte*, occurs in one place (1 Tim. 6, 4). The adjective *fährlich* (MHG. *vaerlîch*) and the noun *Fährlichkeit* are used instead of the longer forms with *ge-*. They are found: Wis. 9, 14; Sir. 20, 20; 43, 26; Acts 27, 19; Rom. 8, 35; 2 Cor. 4, 26; etc. These shorter forms are still used by Lessing and Rückert. *Gefreund* and *gefreundet* (MHG. *gevriunt*) is used as an adj.: *gefreundt* (2 Mac. 5, 9), but mostly as a collective noun: *deine Gefreundte* (Luke 1, 36; 58; 2, 44; 14, 12; John 18, 26; Rom. 9, 3; 16, 7; 21); also fem. sg. *deine gefreundte* (Luke 1, 36). *Glum* (which is not found in MHG. and was probably introduced by L. from LG., cf. Engl. *gloomy*) occurs just once: *machest seine Ströme glum* (Ezek. 32, 2). *Niedlich*, which is now used mostly in the meaning "beautiful" is still used in its etymological sense "arousing desire," as in L.: *niedliche Speise* (Dan. 10, 3; Sir. 37, 32); *das verborgene Brot ist niedlich* (Prov. 9, 17); *die vorhin das Niedlichste assen* (Lam. 4, 5; Jer. 51, 34). The adj. *treuge* "trocken," which is MidG. (cf. LG. *dröge*), frequent in L. and used as late as Lessing, occurs a few times (Lev. 7, 10; Nahum 1, 4; Is. 19, 6); *tüchtig* is found in the meaning "tauglich" (Num. 4, 23); *unmäßlich*, still common in the seventeenth century in the meaning "immoderate," occurs Jer. 52, 20; *wäschhafftig* "geschwätzig," introduced by L., who writes it with *e*, is found Sir. 7, 15; 25, 27; *willfertig*, common still in the seventeenth century in the sense of "willfährig," occurs Matth. 5, 25; *vollkömmlich*,

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still given by Adelung as a *Nebenform* of *vollkommen*, occurs John 11, 7; Is. 47, 9, as in L. The following adjectives are found with endings differing from those of the present: *billich* (Wis. 13, 3) instead of *billig; unzehlich* (Wis. 18, 12) for *unzählig; lediglig* (Wis. 14, 5), today-*lich; vorteilisch* (Sir. 14, 9) for *vorteilhaft.*

Pronouns

The shorter forms of the personal pronouns are still common, e.g. the gen. fem. sg. as *ihr: und findet ihr (der Ruhe) nicht* (Luke 11, 24); *dich ihr (der Braut) enthalten* (Tob. 6, 19); *pfleget ihr* (Tob. 14, 15); *ihr verschonen* (Deut. 25, 12); the gen. plu. also as *ihr: ihr eilff Tausend* (2 Mac. 11, 11; 12, 23); *euer* as gen. plu.: *ich fürchte euer* (Gal. 4, 11). Occasionally the inorganic *t* is not added in the expression: *von meinen und deinen Wegen* (Josh. 14, 6); *um meinen willen* (2 Kings 19, 34; 20, 6), but mostly it appears: *von meinet wegen* (1 Sam. 25, 5; 2 Sam. 18, 11; Ezek. 3, 17); similarly: *meinet halben* (1 Sam. 22, 8; Tob. 10, 10). The demonstrative pronoun has the gen. plu. *dere*, as in L.:[28] *die Vergreifung dere, die*, etc. (Ezra 10, 6; Jer. 38, 11, etc.), 13 cases noted. The pronoun *was* has an inflected fem. *waser*, e.g. *aus waser Macht* (Matth. 21, 23; 24, 27; Mk. 11, 28; 29; 33; Luke 20, 2; 8). The dative of the personal pronouns for that of the reflexive, common as late as Lessing, is often used in 1671: *Loth . . . schlosz die Thür hinder ihm zu* (Gen. 19, 6; 22, 13); *Jacob . . . bauet ihm ein Haus* (Gen. 33, 17); *bey ihm* (Ex. 35, 23; 24); *sie haben ihnen* (Ex. 32, 31) etc.; *mit ihm* (Matth. 12, 25); *auf ihr* (Num. 5, 6). A few cases of *mit* with *sich* were, however, noted (Gen. 14, 10; Matth. 4, 5; Judith 13, 9; 1 Mac. 11, 51). As late as 1862 Raumer made a plea for the retention of such forms of the dative, except where they were misleading. A few instances of *ein* as nom. fem. instead of *eine*, still common in L., were noted before adjectives, e.g. *ein linde Antwort* (Prov. 15, 1); *ein heilsame Zunge* (Prov. 15, 4); *ein volle Seele* (Prov. 27, 7); *ein ewige Satzung* (Num. 15, 15); *ein treffliche Summe* (Zech. 11, 13); *kein Arbeit* (Lev. 23, 31); also others: *euer Garbe* (Lev. 23, 12); *unser Zunge* (Ps. 126, 2); but usually *e* is found: *eine böse Zucht* (Prov. 15, 10), etc.

[28] See Moser, "Einführung," 191.

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[*To be concluded*]

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WERDEN AND *WESEN* WITH THE PASSIVE IN NOTKER

By W. FREEMAN TWADDELL

MISS LOUISE GRACE FRARY'S dissertation (University of Minnesota), *Studies in the Syntax of the Old English Passive* ("Language Dissertations," 5), is especially concerned, according to the full title, with "the use of *wesan* and *weorðan*." Some material which has been collected in connection with a study of the passive in the writings of Notker III may be useful for purposes of comparison with Dr. Frary's findings; the pertinence of these data to the recent publications of Professor A. J. F. Zieglschmid, "Is the Use of *wesan* in the Periphrastic Actional Passive in the Germanic Languages due to Latin Influence?" *JEGPhilol.* 28.360, and *Zur Entwicklung der Perfektumschreibung im Deutschen* ("Language Dissertations," 6), is even more immediate.

The existence of two passive auxiliaries with identical values would be a linguistic luxury so inconvenient that a living language would swiftly discard one or the other of the two. In the case of the Germanic passive, the auxiliaries *werdan* and *wesan* express two types of action, which may be called ingressive and durative, dynamic and statal, or, quite literally, becoming and being. The distinction between ingressive and durative functions is easily obscured; and it would be in no way surprising if a single form were to take over both functions. But in the case of the passive, the survival of the auxiliaries as independent verbs has preserved both types of action down to the present (in German; since the loss of *weorþan*, literary English has got on quite comfortably with a single auxiliary). The distinction between "Die Tür wird geschlossen" and "Die Tür ist geschlossen" is as valid in NHG. as in the earliest Germanic.

This distinction, naturally, is made by Notker. It is apparent in such a juxtaposition of the two auxiliaries as in I.430.15:[1] Alliu relatiua sint tanne gesprochen ze iro gagen-

[1] The references are to Piper's edition.

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cherten. ube siu rehto gesprochen uuerdent (*Omnia ergo quae ad aliquid dicuntur. si conuenienter assignentur. ad conuertentia dicuntur*). The momentary, ingressive force of *werden* appears in II.424.14: Vnde so ouh des zit uuirt. so uuirdet der gesehen in gloria. On the other hand, the many pseudo-passives with negative participles used with *wesen* point toward a durative force of this auxiliary. This negative participle appears 55 times with *wesen*, 3 times (and these only under special conditions[2]) with *werden*. The fact that these constructions are not true passives does not invalidate their application here; the point is that it is impossible that a negative participle should be used in a construction indicating an ingressive type of action, for the negative participle is by its very nature capable of expressing only existence in a condition. In other cases the participle with *wesen* translates a Latin adjective, representing then, too, a condition and not an action. A few examples illustrate: I.489.16: Tiu sint aber naturlicho ungeskeiden (*Naturaliter autem simul sunt.*). II.183.9: Din zeseuua ist irfullet mit rehte (*Iustitia plena est dextera tua.*). I.483.16: Daz ist kelogen (*Falsum est.*).

These examples illustrate the survival of the original distinction between *werden* and *wesen* as passive auxiliaries. An important distinction of word order points in the same direction. An examination of the infinitive clauses of indirect discourse and other infinitive clauses (except after modal auxiliaries) reveals that:

Werden in such clauses stands after the participle, as in I.258.15: Ih nechido nieht arge site geandot uuerden. unde mit puozo gerihtet uuerden.

In 14 of 24 cases, *wesen* (or *sin*) stands before the participle, as in II.360.8: Christus selbo sageta iz so uuesen gescriben. I.257.11: er chede die selben reda . . . so nesin gestellet.

The final position carries with it a certain psychological

[2] Once, the Latin original indicates, *werden* is to be taken in a pregnant sense, with the participle purely adjectival: II.521.9: Min herza . . . uuerde ungeflecchot (*Fiat cor meum inmaculatum*). In the other two cases, the negative participle is parallel to a corresponding positive participle: I.574.23: Nu mag ein ding peidiu uuerden. uerscroten ioh unuerscroten. I.614.10: tiudir bedenchit uuerdent. tanne umbedenchit.

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accent; the frequent appearance of *wesen* in an unaccented position, against the analogy of the normally final infinitive, can only indicate that *wesen* is here practically copulative in function, with the emphasis resting upon the adjectival participle. This word order points directly toward the retention of the durative and statal force of the construction with *wesen*, and constitutes, as I see it, additional evidence for the survival of the old distinction of type of action between *werden* and *wesen*.

There are two considerable treatments of the temporal force of the passive in OHG.: Franz Cuny's dissertation (Bonn, 1905), *Der temporale Wert der passiven Umschreibungen im Ahd.*, and a section of Baesecke's *Einführung in das Ahd.* (1918).

A summary of Cuny's discussion of the tenses of the passive indicative in Notker's *Boethius* may be formulated: (P. 9) In Notkers *Boetius* ist die eigentümliche Bedeutung von werdan verschwunden. Wie in der jetzigen Sprache ist *wirdit* c. Part. das gewöhnliche Mittel der Präsensumschreibung. (P. 17) Im *Boetius* stimmt er (*ward* c. Part.) fast ganz mit unserm Gebrauch überein. . . . (P. 20) An einigen Stellen würden wir lieber das Plusquamperfect gebrauchen, aber geboten ist es auch da nicht. (Of the five examples given here, none has a Latin equivalent; the assumption as to the German tense is accordingly subjective.) (P. 24) In Notkers *Boetius* lässt sich die Form (*ist* c. Part.) perfectisch auffassen. (P. 30) In Notkers *Boetius* hat *was* c. Part. stets die Bedeutung des Plusquamperfects.

Cuny's findings as to the tenses of the passive indicative in the *Boethius* may accordingly be represented:

wirdit	*ward*	*ist*	*was*
present	preterit (pluperfect)	perfect	pluperfect

Baesecke (pp. 241 ff.) sees a tendency toward the end of the OHG. period to emphasize the temporal distinctions at the expense of those of type of action, so that "für N. gilt dann schon regelmässig: Präs. *wirdit;* Imperf. und Perf. hist. *ward;* Perf. *ist;* Plusqpf. *was*. So sind also die alten Aktionsunterschiede zugunsten der temporalen aufgegeben."

So also Paul, *D. Gram.*, 4.§369: "Bei N. ist der Standpunkt erreicht, der dann im Mhd. herrscht und noch jetzt in der nordd.

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Umgangssprache fortdauert: Präs. *ich werde geliebt;* Perf. *bin;* Prät. *wurde;* Plusqu. *war.*"

Grimm, *D. Gram.*, 4. (1837) 14: "Klarer sieht man bei N., mit *werden* drückt er das präs. und fut. aus, mit *wesen* das prät. . . . funden wirt bezeichnet dem N. invenitur, funden ist inventus est; funden ist und funden was mögen bei ihm zuweilen gleichviel sein, nicht aber funden wirt und funden ward."

The following table represents the correspondences between the German and Latin tenses in the 647 cases in which the translation is sufficiently close to justify comparisons:

	werden		*wesen*		
Latin	Pres.	Pret.	Pres.	Pret.	Totals
Pres.	181	19	74	1	275
Imperf.	—	10	2	5	17
Future	93	1	2	—	96
Perf.	11	85	137	6	239
Pluperf.	—	—	—	7	7
Fut. Perf.	5	1	3	—	9
Abl. Abs.	—	3	—	1	4
Totals	290	119	218	20	647

Both Cuny and Baesecke (the latter explicitly) regard the distinction between *werden* and *wesen* as temporal rather than one of type of action. This view of theirs appears to be in part the basis, in part the corollary, of their assigning perfect functions to the present of *wesen* with the participle.

Existence in a condition in the present (which was obviously the original force of *wesen* with the participle of a transitive verb) implies previous entrance into the condition. In Latin, with a present passive system, it was natural for the periphrasis with the substantive verb to emphasize the temporal distinction; and in the formal, stylized grammar, *amatus sum* is regularly construed as the perfect of *amor.* But beside meaning, "I was loved, I have been loved," *amatus sum* also meant, "I am in a state of being loved." [3] In the Germanic passive, the distinction of type of action could be preserved, since the preterits of both auxiliaries were available for temporal distinctions.

By way of illustration of the double possibility of interpreta-

[3] Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, 511; C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulg. Lat.*, § 112; Plater and White, *Gram. of the Vulgate*, § 77, § 128 (5); *cf.* also K. Vossler, *Geist u. Kultur i. d. Spr.*, 64.

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tion of such constructions with the present of *wesen*, cf. I.17.8: So die sternen bedecchet sint. This is most naturally (according to my view) to be rendered: "When the stars are covered." It has, of course, the secondary implied meaning: "When or after the stars have been covered." But the context and the tense of the Latin equivalent lead me to prefer to regard it as present and durative. The complete passage is: Also iz tanne ueret. so die sternen bedecchet sint (*cum glomerantur sydera* [4]). fone uuolchenmachigemo uuinde. unde der himel alagaro ist ze dicchen regenen. unde sunna neskinet. unde iz nahtet. Wholly without ambiguity are the cases mentioned earlier, in which the auxiliary *wesen* is used in constructions which translate *esse* with an adjective, as II.183.9: Din zeseuua ist irfullet mit rehte (*Iustitia plena est dextera tua.*). To translate "Thy hand has been filled with justice" would be ridiculous. Likewise clear are the cases in which the participle is parallel to an adjective, dependent upon *wesen:* II.535.25: Ih pin iungero danne sie. unde ferchoren.

Further, the table of correspondences with Latin tenses shows that *ist* with the participle is by no means confined to the perfect, occurring 74 times as a translation of the Latin present, against 137 perfect. Even this proportion does not tell the whole story. For (entirely to leave aside the possibility of a mechanical rendering of *est* by *ist* [5]) the Latin *est* with participle, as has been pointed out above, has the possibility of a present durative force. Thus II.516.17: unde bin ungetruobet (*et non sum turbatus.*). II.527.13: Fone diu bin ih harto gediemuotet (*Humiliatus sum.*). I.399.27: Siu sint iomer geskeiden (*Semper discreta et separata sunt.*). Since these and all similar constructions have been included, for purposes of the table, in the 137 Latin perfects, the balance stands even more nearly level as between present and perfect; and to overlook the function of *ist* with the participle as a present durative is to leave a serious gap.

As for the relegation of *was* with the participle to the pluperfect, it is enough to point out that this construction corre-

[4] Here Grimm, *loc. cit.*, rather disingenuously suggests an interpretation of the Latin text to fit this passage into his system: Bedecchet sint (*tecti sunt? glomerantur*).

[5] *Cf.* Dr. Frary's *Studies in the Syntax of the OE. Passive*, 11, 30.

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sponds 11 times to a Latin perfect or imperfect, 7 times to a Latin pluperfect.

A future of *wesen* with the participle is formed with the auxiliary *sol*. This construction is rare, since the present of *werden* is adequate for most purposes of expressing future passives. The compound tense *sol wesen* serves to express duration in the future, as in II.26.26: Tero armon gedult nesol nio euuiglicho ferloren sin (*Patientia pauperum non peribet in finem.*). According to the systems of the grammarians mentioned above, this sentence would have to be translated as a future perfect, in which case the tense of *peribet* would prove embarrassing.

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MISCELLANY

A Further Note on the Influence of French Fairy Tales on German Folklore

Unfortunately it was not until after my paper on Perrault's *contes*[1] had been printed that my attention was called to a lecture, *Het Sprookje*, delivered at Leiden in 1924 before the Maatschappij der Nederlandschen Letterkunde by Professor Jolles of the University of Leipzig.

In this lecture, which represents an investigation of the spirit of naïve morality found in fairy tales, Dr. Jolles refers to the partially literal agreement of Grimm's *Rotkäppchen* with Perrault's *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge*. He comes to the conclusion that Perrault's story is incomplete because it lacks an ending conforming to the "ethisch gebeuren," that is to say, it does not contain the escape from tragedy which, according to Dr. Jolles, is an essential feature of all fairy tales.

Although the criterion of the "ethisch gebeuren" can hardly be adduced as irrefutable evidence, it is most probable that the longer story recorded by the Grimms represents the original version of the tale.[2] Since this question does not touch on the main theme of my study, I cannot go into details here. Suffice it to state that the unmistakable influence of the French tale on Grimm No. 26 was first pointed out by Dr. Jolles.

As regards my investigation of Grimm No. 50 (pp. 6–10, *loc. cit.*), another connection that confirms the French provenience of the tale has struck my attention. The only motif of the *Dornröschen* which cannot be traced back to Perrault, namely, the prophecy of the frog, occurs in another French story, *La biche au bois*, in the well-known collection of Madame d'Aulnoy,[3] one of Perrault's numerous imitators. This seems to have escaped the notice of Messrs. Bolte and Polívka; for no parallels to the passage are quoted in their chapter on Grimm No. 50.[4]

The opening of *La biche au bois* relates, in conformity with Grimm and Perrault, that a king and queen were grieved because of their childlessness. The subsequent passage contains our motif and reads:[5]

Un jour que la reine étoit assise au bord de la fontaine, elle dit à toutes ses dames de s'éloigner et de la laisser seule; puis elle commença ses plaintes ordinaires. "Ne suis-je pas bien malheureuse, dit-elle, de n'avoir point d'enfans?—

[1] Germanic Review, V (January, 1930), 4 ff. On this occasion a misprint should be corrected. On page 4 read *Adrastea*, not *Andrastea*.

[2] *Cf.* the evidence suggested on page 16 of my paper.

[3] *Contes des fées*, 1698, reprinted in *Cabinet des fées*, 2–4, 1751 ff.; translated into German in *Cabinet der Feen*, Nürnberg, 1762–3, Vols. III–VI, and in *Blaue Bibliothek aller Nationen*, Gotha, 1790–1, Weimar, 1796.

[4] *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, I (1913), 434; in the treatment of *La biche au bois*, IV (1930), 272, the passage is not mentioned.

[5] I quote from the edition of the *Librairie des Bibliophiles*, Paris, 1881, II, 31 f.

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Comme elle parloit ainsi, elle remarqua que l'eau de la fontaine s'agitoit; puis une grosse écrevisse parut, et lui dit: "Grande reine, vous aurez enfin ce que vous désirez—

The story then trails off into an elaborate description of a fairy palace, undoubtedly of Madame d'Aulnoy's own invention; for it is well known that she adorned many of her contes with additions from her own pen. The first part of the tale evidently goes back to Perrault's *La belle au bois dormant*, except for the incident of the prophecy, which is apparently derived from oral tradition; its latter part, however, has nothing to do with the *Dornröschen* theme, but is remotely connected with Grimm No. 11, a very wide-spread type of Märchen.[6]

In Grimm No. 50 it is not a crawfish but a frog that voices the prophecy while the queen is bathing. In accordance with the simpler style of the German tale, that is unaffected by the age of gallantry, the scene is depicted without any details of royal splendor. Aside from this, the passages are identical and their relation can hardly be doubted. Moreover, the appearance of a German translation of the French tale in a widely read edition fully fifty years before the Grimm collection makes the derivation extremely probable.

H. V. Velten

[6] Concerning the main motif of *La biche au bois* and its parallels, *cf.* my forthcoming paper, *Le conte de la tille-biche en folklore français*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

"Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen." Reihe Politische Dichtung. Band 1. *Vor dem Untergang des alten Reichs.* 1756–1795. Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Emil Horner. Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, Jr. 1930. 282 SS. RM. 7.

The monumental "Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen," planned, with the collaboration of scores of well-known scholars, by Professors Heinz Kindermann, Walther Brecht and Dietrich von Kralik as editors-in-chief, and announced a few years ago as intended to supplant eventually with its 250 volumes Kürschner's "Deutsche Nationalliteratur," the present standard work of this kind, has now made a fair start. Previous to the current year two volumes had appeared, dealing respectively, the one with Rationalism of the early eighteenth century, the other with popular tales of the late Middle Ages. The program for 1930 gives as definite dates for publication of the next twelve volumes the following: in January, "Politische Dichtung," Vol. 1 (1756–1795); in February, "Barockdrama," Vol. 1; in March, "Deutsche Selbstzeugnisse," Vol. 1; in April, "Romantik," Vol. 15; in May, "Aufklärung," Vol. 2; in June, "Politische Dichtung," Vol. 5 (1848); in July, "Reformation," Vol. 1; in August, "Romantik," Vol. 16; in September, "Aufklärung," Vol. 3; in October, "Politische Dichtung," Vol. 6 (1850–71); in November, "Barockdrama," Vol. 3; in December, "Volks- und Schwankbücher," Vol. 2.

A mere glance at this list reveals both the importance and the difficulties of the whole undertaking. When completed, this comprehensive survey of German literary movements and achievements, from early mediaeval hero saga to contemporary Expressionism, will undoubtedly be an invaluable help for a serious as well as broad study of German literature in all its phases. Until this completion is within sight, the somewhat abrupt and erratic sequence of publication of the individual volumes detracts from their immediate usefulness. If, for instance, the section "Romantik" begins with Vol. 15, a volume devoted exclusively to fairy tales, the reader cannot form an accurate opinion as to what the specific merit of the whole section of twenty-two Romantic volumes will be, although the name of Professor Kluckhohn as general editor of that section seems a sufficient guarantee of excellence. If the section "Politische Dichtung" jumps from Vol. 1, embracing the time from the Seven Years' War till the Peace of Basle, to Vol. 5, dealing with the Revolution of 1848, we are left in the air as to how the intervening period, the Napoleonic Wars and the age of the Restoration, even though so competent a scholar as Professor Robert F. Arnold is announced as general editor, will be treated. These, however, are defects which, we may hope, will disappear with the more rapid and better balanced publication of future volumes, likely to be produced by the self-adjusting momentum of the huge collection. To have ventured upon so enormous a project of scholarship in the midst of appalling national disaster, is in itself an achievement of which both publishers and editors may well be proud. And it is earnestly to be desired that America will do its share in making this venture a complete success. There should not be an important Public Library in this country, or a German departmental library in any of our larger colleges and universities which did not at once send in a subscription for the whole of the 250 volumes.

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The volume specially under consideration here is the first of seven, edited in common with four other scholars by Professor Arnold, tracing the literary expression of German political feeling from the middle of the eighteenth century to the World War. Its subtitle, "Vor dem Untergang des alten Reichs" 1756–1795, suggests at once that it belongs to a period when there did not exist anything in Germany which could properly be called political "public opinion," the very term even being only tentatively used. As the editor, Professor Horner, brings out in a concise and illuminating introduction, neither the Seven Years' War, nor the Partition of Poland, nor the American, nor even the French Revolution led to any outburst of widespread popular feeling among Germans. Frederick the Great's heroic personality and strategic achievements aroused the enthusiasm of many cultivated individuals, among them Gleim, young Goethe, Schubart, Klopstock. But his wars were after all too dynastic to appeal to a genuine, generous German patriotism. Most of the war lyrics both on the Prussian and the Austrian side did not get beyond the hollow sound of martial self-glorification; and when peace at last was restored, there was nothing left but weariness and exhaustion. In all the subsequent events of world history until the fateful emergence of Napoleon, the Germans remained largely outsiders, passive observers, in spite of such occasional exceptions as Klopstock's ecstatic glorification of the États généraux and his equally ecstatic denunciation of the Jacobins. And the very freedom and breadth of cosmopolitan outlook which characterized the habitual state of mind of educated persons in the Germany of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, made them willing to submit in the practical affairs of their own country to the restrictions of petty princely absolutism.

As a result of all this, the selections offered in this volume from lyrics, dramas and essays of the period mentioned present as a whole a picture of a decidedly underdeveloped energy of political emotion, if not lameness and philistinism. Not until the unbearable oppression of foreign tyranny drove the German people to despair, was there to arise political poetry of the highest order.

As to the principles underlying the selections of this volume, one might ask why Prussian patriotism, while well represented by examples from Gleim and Ramler, is not illustrated by a single line from Abbt's "Vom Tode fürs Vaterland"; why among Klopstock's political effusions there is not included the magnificent "Weissagung" of 1773; why Goethe's attitude toward the French Revolution is brought out only by some of his "Venetianische Epigramme"; why from all of the shrewd observations on political affairs in Wieland's "Teutscher Merkur," just one brief paragraph on the death of Mirabeau is singled out. These and similar questions must remain unanswered until Volumes 2 and 3 of this series will have shed more light on the editorial methods pursued in this whole "Reihe." One fundamental difficulty confronting all of it is how to steer clear between undue repetition on the one hand and overfragmentariness on the other. It is to be hoped that subsequent volumes will not be marred by such signs of haste as the present one offers in misprints and omissions of whole ligns of poetry.

KUNO FRANCKE

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Romantik-Forschungen von B. Heimann, J. Körner, H. Gumbel, R. Samuel, K. Hamburger, K. May, B. v. Wiese, A. Müller (in *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, hrsg. v. Paul Kluckhohn u. Erich Rothacker, Buchreihe, 16. Bd.). Halle: Niemeyer, 1929. 333 pp.

This, the sixteenth volume in the book series published by the *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* under the editorship of

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Paul Kluckhohn and Erich Rothacker, deals with that complex of literary problems which may be styled the favorite of the devotees of Geisteswissenschaft and Gestalt psychology, viz., Romanticism. Under the awkward and un-German title *Romantik-Forschungen* the editors have here collected eight studies, each of them a stimulating contribution to knowledge, some of them invaluable aids to a fuller understanding of important aspects of the movement in which the Schlegel brothers, Tieck, Novalis and Schleiermacher played leading parts. But if we accept the definition of Herbert Cysarz that Geisteswissenschaft endeavors to create "representative theory," in accordance with the method of phenomenology, we soon realize that all eight papers presented do not fall into the category of this new hermeneutic science which is so seductive and so verbose. For several of them are purely descriptive and expository in their nature.

We shall examine the articles in the order in which they are published.

In the opening paper the late Betty Heimann, up to the time of her death Privatdozent in the University of Halle, has left a penetrating review of "Die Freundschaft in Schleiermachers Leben und Lehre." She finds Schleiermacher to be "der Typus eines freundschaftlichen, d.h. dauernd Freundschaft gebenden und empfangenden Menschen" and discovers the roots of that quality embedded in his individuality. This was characterized by a basically religious bent, of which his attitude toward his fellow men may be considered but another manifestation. According to Schleiermacher true friendship cannot flourish except when its cultivator recognizes and tolerates the individuality of him whom he would befriend. Hence such friendship is possible only when the highest humanly attainable step is reached, viz. when it is recognized that humanity is differently revealed in each individual, and that the individual achieves his most intrinsic value by virtue of being a special exemplification of the creative human concept. The fundamental outlines of Schleiermacher's theory of friendship are disclosed by a discussion of the object of his friendship, namely "die Menschheit im Freunde" or "die werdende Menschheit," and of its function, namely "das Werden der Menschheit." To what extent this typically Romantic theory deviates from, not to say transcends, the classical theory of a Schiller or even a Goethe, the apostles of Humanität, will perhaps appear from the following quotation:

> "Die Freundschaft, die sittliche, vernünftige Beziehung zum Menschen ist für Schleiermacher die Religion selbst, die Beziehung zum Absoluten. Es gibt Menschen, denen das Absolute in der Kunst, in der Natur, in der Erotik aufgeht. Für Schleiermacher ist der Mensch der Weg zu Gott, und so ist ihm das Christentum, das den Menschensohn zum Mittler macht, die Religion schlechthin. Für den freundschaftlichen Menschen Schleiermacher ist das Christentum die einzig wahre Religion" (p. 49).

Fräulein Heimann's paper was posthumously edited by Käte Hamburger.

The second contribution, less pretentious than the first, is entitled "August Wilhelm Schlegel, die griechische und lateinische Sprache" and comes from the pen of the prolific Josef Körner of Prague. In it the author makes known for the first time two sections from Schlegel's *Ensyklopädie der Wissenschaften*, a huge manuscript of about a thousand pages preserved in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek at Dresden. In these short snatches of three and five pages, respectively, we note more clearly than before Schlegel's insight into the spirit of the two great ancient tongues and his surprising modernity as a critic.

The third paper, "Ludwig Tiecks dichterischer Weg," by Hermann Gumbel,

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now of the University of Frankfurt, is a brilliant contribution to a better understanding and appreciation of Tieck. Realizing that Tieck has in the past fared ill at the hands of those who treated him exclusively according to literary-historical principles, and deprecating a method which has damned all of Tieck's work as mere "Literaturarbeit" in contrast to "dichterisches Schaffen," Gumbel proceeds to show that a clear world-picture conditioned by his life-experience pervades Tieck's entire output. Tieck's struggle was one against subjectivism and for objectivism.

"Immer hat für ihn—von den Frühwerken bis zur 'Vittoria Accorombona'—nur die eine Frage bestanden: Wie wird der Subjektivismus, wie wird die Ichhaftigkeit überwunden? Wie kommt der Mensch zur Selbstlosigkeit und Hingabe? Gibt es "eine unmittelbare Vereinigung von Mensch zu Mensch"? (p. 68).

. . . . . .

"Es galt, einen schmalen Grat zu treffen zwischen dem wahren und dem falschen Gefühle, zwischen dem schwärmerischen Selbstbetrug, der das leere Ich zurückließ, und der wirklichen Empfängnis des Objektiven. Was waren nun Erscheinungsformen dieses wirklichen Fühlens? Drei Antworten hat Tieck auf den verschiedenen Stufen seines Lebens gehabt und sie im Werk gestaltet; zunächst: die Liebe, später die Kunst und die Ironie (doch das waren mehr Zwischenlösungen und Übergänge); schließlich im Alter: das Wunder und der Glaube" (pp. 69–70).

Gumbel sketches in these outlines as briefly and clearly as possible. The love for which Tieck strove was a concrete earthly love. When he realized that absolute subjection of the ego could not be attained through it, he turned to objective art and to the subtle weapon of irony. Finally, about 1820, as by a miracle, he came to the conviction "daß die Welt wunderbar sei und der Glaube die Antwort auf die Welt." His last great work, *Vittoria Accorombona*, for which Gumbel has an understanding and an appreciation shared by few present day critics, reflects once more, as in a kaleidoscope, all these multifarious yet concentric strivings of the poet. The reviewer notes with pleasure that he is able to follow Gumbel's argument throughout. Only the stages "Kunst und Ironie" should be formulated upon a different and more convincing basis, I feel. It is to be hoped that Gumbel will soon be able to give us a full-sized picture of what he could here merely outline.

The next four studies deal with Novalis, a significant fact which betokens the importance of this writer in the eyes of the younger generation of scholars. Richard Samuel, now engaged in preparing a new edition of the works of Novalis, offers in "Der berufliche Werdegang Friedrich von Hardenbergs" some important new source material pertaining to the subject indicated in the title. We shall let the author himself describe the documents which he publishes:

"Für zwei Abschnitte der beruflichen Tätigkeit des Novalis sind amtliche Quellen vorhanden: Für seine Tätigkeit an den kursächsischen Salinen besitzt das Oberbergamt Halle eine Reihe von Akten, die 1815, nachdem die Kreishauptmannschaft Thüringen an Preußen abgetreten war, dorthin kamen. Für die Bewerbung des Dichters um eine Amtshauptmannsstelle in der kursächsischen Provinz Thüringen finden sich Dokumente im sächsischen Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden, das außerdem noch Ergänzungen zu der salinistischen Tätigkeit zur Verfügung stellen konnte" (p. 85).

The material covers about a dozen pages. In addition to comments on it Samuel gives other valuable biographical addenda.

A lengthy and important work on "Novalis und die Mathematik" by Käte Hamburger follows. It represents the first, and at the same time a conclusive, study of the numerous aphorisms on mathematics which Novalis jotted down at various times. Contrary to Dilthey, Fräulein Hamburger shows that these "hymns

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on mathematics" are not sterile but very fruitful and essential to the woof and texture of their author's philosophy. She concludes too that much in them looks forward to the modern theory of relativity.

"Die Gedankenwelt des Romantikers Novalis fügt sich in das mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche wie in das erkenntnistheoretische Bild des 19. Jahrhunderts (an dessen Beginn er starb), wie man es ohne weiteres nicht erwartet hätte. Die Beziehung unserer Zeit zur Romantik dürfte auch von dieser Seite her sich als eine enge erweisen" (p. 184).

Kurt May, Privatdozent in Göttingen, studies "Weltbild und innere Form der Klassik und Romantik im *Wilhelm Meister* und *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*." As he himself says, his observations read like a commentary upon the well-known fragment of Novalis: "Goethe wird und muß übertroffen werden,—aber nur wie die Alten übertroffen werden können, an Gehalt und Kraft, an Mannigfaltigkeit und Tiefsinn—als Künstler eigentlich nicht." The argument of May tends to confute any strict antithesis of Klassik and Romantik, such as Strich would predicate; it falls in line with an ever growing school of thought which detects in these two phenomena "organic parts of the same cultural, philosophical and poetic development," as Walter Silz puts it. May confesses however that most searching and comprehensive stylistic investigations of the two works in question will have to be made before conclusive results can be reached.

The last paper on Novalis is entitled "Novalis und die romantischen Konvertiten" and has Benno von Wiese as its author. His purpose is to show,

"wie durch den inneren Widerspruch von mystisch-religiöser Betroffenheit durch Tod und Überwelt auf der einen Seite und von romantischer Umwelt und romantischen Bildungsmitteln auf der anderen Seite eine wesensnotwendige 'Zweideutigkeit' in der Erscheinung des Novalis entsteht, wobei diese 'Zweideutigkeit' nicht als eine persönliche Unredlichkeit oder Unaufrichtigkeit verstanden wird, sondern als eine geistesgeschichtliche Inkommensurabilität, wie sie aus der Situation eines mystischen Schicksals in einer romantischen Geisteslage hervorgeht" (p. 207).

Moreover he endeavors to trace the historical influence of Novalis from the point of view of religion, an influence which, he finds, expressed itself quite differently and diversely in others. Three examples, Friedrich Schlegel, Adam Müller and Zacharias Werner, are singled out for this purpose. If we can follow von Wiese's argument to the extent of believing that the religious reactions of these three men were essentially reactions to the thought and feeling of Novalis, well and good.

An important and rather extended study "Die Auseinandersetzung der Romantik mit den Ideen der Revolution," by Andreas Müller of Essen, concludes the volume. It is divided into three chapters dealing with the first effects of the French Revolution and its ideas upon Germany, the overcoming of the Revolution and its ideas through the spirit of German Romanticism, and the development of the Romantic views and their significance for the thought of the nineteenth century. Müller's views, so far as the core of his subject is concerned, may be summarized in his own words as follows:

"Die ersten deutschen Gegner der Revolution hatten in ihr nur ein Staatsereignis, wenn auch besonders gewaltiger und bedrohlicher Art, gesehen, das aus der falschen Anwendung einer an sich gültigen geistigen Anschauung erwachsen war. Von ihnen unterschieden sich die Romantiker also von Anbeginn dadurch, daß sie die welt- und geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Revolution erkannten und sich bewußt wurden, daß es in ihr um mehr als um einzelne politische Maximen und Tendenzen ging. Die Aufklärung starb in der Revolution, ihrer größten und letzten

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Tat, und gebar damit den neuen Weltgeist, dem zuerst, noch ohne eigentliche Selbstgewißheit, Burke, dann in klarer Erkenntnis die Romantiker Worte gaben. Darum auch konnten diese eine Zeitlang die Revolution bejahen; darum mußte, als deren äußere Abkehr erfolgte, auch eine innere Überwindung (und nicht nur Ablehnung) ihrer Ideen und der geistigen Grundanschauungen erfolgen, aus denen sie entstanden war" (pp. 301–302).

Müller's paper is a creditable and helpful piece of exposition.

The authors as well as the editors are to be congratulated upon this volume, which is a worthy companion to the works of Burdach, Dosenheimer, Kluckhohn, von Grolman, Rehm and others in the series. It breathes the spirit of a living scholarship and reveals a conscious striving ever to link up the past with the present. Scholarship and criticism are here happily blended.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Walter Muschg, 1. *Der dichterische Charakter. Eine Studie über Albrecht Schaeffers "Helianth."* Berlin 1929. Preis RM 3.50. 2. *Psychoanalyse und Literaturwissenschaft.* Berlin 1930. Both publications: Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag.

It is most essential to become acquainted with these two publications of a new colleague at the university of Zürich, who will eventually be one of our leading authorities. His Habilitationsschrift, *Der dichterische Charakter*, is unusually short and interesting and excels among the Habilitationsschriften in the field of Germanics through its powerful, brilliant, beautiful and overwhelmingly rich language. It represents, indeed, an ideal combination of sound research and inspiring conceptions. Nobody who has made the attempt to write on Schaeffer has been as predestined for the work as Muschg, who manifests the qualities of the historian and the philosopher, the artist and the critic. He may not be heartily welcomed everywhere in the scholastic world, since he has evidenced questionable tendencies for romantic extravagances and revolutionary ideas. Such are to be found in his contributions to the *Literarische Welt*, as well as in his own monthly *Annalen*, where he praises James Joyce's *Ulysses* and publishes columns similar to Mencken's "Americana."

But his Antrittsvorlesung on "Psychoanalyse und Literaturwissenschaft" will, nevertheless, belong to the classical papers in the science of literature, and be considered a landmark in the history of Geisteswissenschaft. This lecture is, in the best meaning of the word, epochmaking. It lays bare the many relations between our science and psychoanalysis, and emphasizes the importance of a subject which, so far, has been of dubious value in the sphere of legitimate Germanistics. We must admit, however, that we have the impression that Muschg overlooks or underrates psychoanalytical interpretations of authors and their works, attempted by Germanisten (not only by doctors!), such as, Ernst Feise, "Werther als nervöser Charakter," in the *Germanic Review*, I, 185 ff. "Molière im Lichte der neuesten Forschung," in the *Neuphilologische Monatsschrift*, is another example of the interest in psychoanalysis outside of the medical profession. In spite of our genuine sympathy for modern trends, we would like to find more bibliographical references.

Muschg is one of Ermatinger's pupils. The fear that a French reviewer expressed in the *Revue Germanique* (revised edition of "Barock und Rokoko") that Ermatinger's excellent methods may mislead a younger Germanist who has not the knowledge of the master to superficial or erroneous conclusions, proves to be unfounded.

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Sachwörterbuch der Deutschkunde. Unter Förderung durch die Deutsche Akademie herausgegeben von W. Hofstaetter und U. Peters. Erster Band. Leipzig und Berlin: Verlag B. G. Teubner, 1930. Subskriptionspreis des Gesamtwerkes: 2 Bände zu je RM 27.—Oder in 12 Monatsraten zu je RM 5.—Näheres siehe Sonderprospekt.

Among the different encyclopedic works which have been published recently in the field of German Literaturwissenschaft, the *Sachwörterbuch* will be the most indispensable and the standard reference book for the teacher of German. It differs essentially from the *Reallexikon* as well as Kosch's *Literaturlexikon* and in principle also from Roehl's small *Wörterbuch zur deutschen Literatur*, in that it omits a large amount of material concerning specialized problems of the history of literature, and includes all sciences and arts connected directly or indirectly not only with German literature but with Deutschkunde in general, as for instance certain phases of philosophy, theology, pedagogy, psychology, Volkskunde, geography, history, Kulturgeschichte, law, art, architecture, music, Sprechkunde, English, American, Dutch, Scandinavian and Romance languages and literatures.

The fascinating variety of the book is best illustrated by enumerating the titles of only a few articles, as they occur in alphabetical order: Altsprachlicher Unterricht, Arbeiterdichtung, Bach, Bauernhaus, Baumeister, Bismarck, bürgerliches Trauerspiel, Byron, Dostojewski, Dürer, Eiszeit, Erfurt, frühmittelhochdeutsche Dichtung, grammatische Formen, Heilkunde, Himmelsbrief, Jugendbewegung, Jungfrau von Orleans, Lied, pädagogische Akademien.

An enormous amount of knowledge from the best and most recent sources has been assembled and arranged here, under the specific angle of Deutschkunde, which determines the perspective of the book and shifts the panorama of German literature. The new revaluation of literary values, for which the deutschkundliche movement is partly responsible, reflects itself in the lengthy consideration given to men like Claudius, Böhme, Herder, Görres.

In spite of this trend, that, most likely, will be criticized as subjective one-sidedness, the scientific accuracy and reliability (lacking occasionally in Kosch's work) is guaranteed by the names of the editors, the "Fachberater" and the publisher. Among the large number of contributors the Germanist will find well-known authorities, such as Ermatinger, Fachberater für neuere Literatur (Barockdichtung), Linden (Goethe), Müller-Freienfels (Psychologie des Deutschen), Neckel (Germanen), Schneider, Fachberater für ältere Literatur (Ballade des Mittelalters), Hampe (Germanisches Nationalmuseum), Soergel, Luther, and many others, not to mention outstanding and representative names from associated sciences.

The style of the articles is not scientifically involved and almost everywhere surprisingly readable, although a few unnecessarily complicated constructions may be found and a slight polemic tendency has not been eliminated throughout (e.g., "Alle Kultur geht mit Wertevernichtung und Lebenvernichtung einher; ihre Wertigkeit ist nur der Überschuß der von ihr geschaffnen Werte über die von ihr vernichteten; klärlich war die Vernichtung auf keltischer Seite weit bedeutender als auf germ., und es fragt sich also sehr, auf welcher Seite der größere Überschuß zu buchen ist." P. 414).

The inconsistency in the bibliographical notes resulted from a change of attitude on the part of the publishers after many articles had been definitely completed. So it happened, that, for example, the bibliography following the article on Herder or on Goethe includes fewer titles than that on Eichendorff. But even so, the teacher

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will find the bibliographical selections in the *Sachwörterbuch* more practical, useful and to the point than the immense number of references in the *Reallexikon* or the *Literaturlexikon*.

If there is any chance for a new orientation of foreign language and literature teaching ("Kulturkunde"!) in this country (*cf.* my article "Deutschkunde in Amerika" which will shortly appear in the *Zs. f. Deutschkunde*), the *Sachwörterbuch* is most apt to become a very helpful guide. In the opinion of the reviewer, it is indeed the bible (i.e. the book of books) for the progressive teacher of German. And the hope of the Deutsche Akademie, that it will further the knowledge and the understanding of German "Volkstum" in foreign countries, will not be vain.

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NOTES

DEUTSCHES BIBEL-ARCHIV

Announcement has been made of the foundation of the Deutsches Bibel-Archiv at Hamburg. The undertaking is under the immediate charge of Professor Hans Vollmer, the well-known student of Bible history, and Professor Wahl, the Director of the Staats- and Universitäts-Bibliothek in Hamburg. The project is supported by an impressive list of scholars, including evangelical and Catholic theologians, philologists, historians and historians of art. Its purpose is to provide a center for the collection of research material on German translations of the Bible. For the present, its activities will be limited to the pre-Lutheran translations after 1200. The material to be brought together, which will also include Biblical citations, motives, etc., as well as manuscripts and illustrations, will be organized and made available at the Hamburg library for any research student. This undertaking will further the work carried on by Wilhelm Walter and Professor Vollmer, and should provide a rich source for Germanists as well as historians, and others interested in the vast unexplored Bible literature in the Germanic dialects. It is estimated that from 20,000 to 25,000 marks annually will be necessary for its support, and scholars who are interested are invited to assist in finding funds for this purpose. Subscriptions may be forwarded to the Sparkasse von 1827, in Hamburg, Girokonto 80–619 Deutsches Bibel-Archiv, in care of Professor Dr. Hans Vollmer.

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* Continued from *The Germanic Review*, V, 2 (April, 1930). A list of abbreviations is appended.

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Abbreviations

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(BR) = brief review

tr. = translation

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THE GERMANIC REVIEW

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GEFUNDENE UND VERSCHWUNDENE GOETHEBRIEFE

VON WILHELM FRELS

BEI der Materialsammlung für die „ Deutschen Dichterhandschriften seit 1450 in den Bibliotheken Deutschlands, Österreichs und der Schweiz " (ein Werk, das als Band zwei der „ Bibliographical Publications " der Germanic Section der Modern Language Association of America voraussichtlich 1932 erscheinen wird) machte ich die überraschende Feststellung, daß es einigen Goethebriefen, die Unterschlupf in öffentlichen Anstalten gefunden hatten, trotz der bewundernswert gründlichen Registrierarbeit der Weimarer Ausgabe und nachfahrender Philologengeschlechter gelungen war, sich einer Veröffentlichung zu entziehen. Weder die Besitzer noch ich vermochten wenigstens einen Abdruck nachzuweisen. Ihr Schicksal ereilt nunmehr diese Briefe. Mit gütiger Erlaubnis der Direktionen der betreffenden Bibliotheken und Archive gelangen die Schriftstücke in folgendem zum Abdruck.

Im Besitz der Stadtbücherei Elberfeld befindet sich ein Schreiben Goethes an seinen „ Kunstfreund " Heinrich Meyer. Hofrat Meyer erkrankte März 1826 auf einer Reise in Erfurt und lag dort im Hause Reinthalers. Goethes Tagebuch notiert unter dem 21. März: „ Nachricht von der Krankheit des Hofraths Meyers in Erfurt. Unterredung deshalb mit Herrn Hofrat Soret. Hierauf mit Herrn Hofrat Schwabe (1788–1844, Leibmedikus), welcher mit Schuchardt (Goethes Sekretär) nach Erfurt fuhr. . . ." Der nach Erfurt zurückgehende Bote erhielt ein eigenhändiges Billet Goethes an Meyer mit:

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Weimar, den 22. März, 1826.

Sie können wohl denken, mein Bester, wie ängstlich wir über Ihre Zustände sind. Die einzige Beruhigung bleibt mir, daß ich Schuchert bey Ihnen weiß. Denn ich wüßte nichts auszusinnen, wie von hier aus Ihnen etwas Gutes oder Hilfreiches zu leisten wäre. Lassen Sie ihn ja immer schreiben und melden, wie irgend eine Post oder Gelegenheit geht. Möge sich alles zum Besten wenden! Das Gegenwärtige ist sehr peinlich.

Goethe.

Heckers treffliche Ausgabe von Goethes Briefwechsel mit Heinrich Meyer enthält dieses Schreiben nicht, sondern kennt nur das Konzept eines Briefes vom 27. März. Die Krankheit Meyers zog sich in die Länge, so daß er erst nach Ablauf einiger Wochen nach Weimar zurückkehren konnte.

In der Handschriftenabteilung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien liegt ein Empfehlungsschreiben Goethes, das an den kaiserlichen Bücherzensor und Dichter Joseph Friedrich von Retzer gerichtet ist. Retzer besuchte Goethe 1798 in Weimar und gewann dessen Wohlwollen. Das diktierte und nur eigenhändig unterzeichnete Empfehlungsschreiben lautet:

Ew. Hochwohlgeb.

überbringt der junge Mann, welche [!] ich denenselben empfohlen, gegenwärtiges Blatt, ich wünsche, daß er sich sowohl durch sein Talent, als durch sein Betragen Ihrer Protection auch für die Zukunft werth machen möge. Könnte ihm einiger Ersatz des Reisegeldes zugestanden werden, so würde er in seiner Lage sehr dankbar zu seyn Ursache haben. Der ich mich zu geneigten freundschaftlichen Andenken bestens empfehle. Weimar, am 18. Mai 1801.

Ew. Hochwohlgeb.

ganz gehorsamster Diener

J. W. v. Goethe

Daß es sich um einen jungen Mann mit Namen Schmidt handelt, erfahren wir aus Goethes Brief an Retzer vom 27. 4. 1801 (abgedruckt nach dem Konzept in der Weimarer Ausgabe IV Bd. 15 S. 220). Retzer antwortete auf diesen Brief Goethes zustimmend (W. A. Bd. 15 S. 350). Die Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek hatte die Liebenswürdigkeit festzustellen, daß Herr Anton Schmidt am 9. September 1801 als Barrington

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im *Portrait der Mutter* am Burgtheater debutierte; 1803 wurde er an das Leopoldstädter Theater engagiert und wirkte dort bis zu seinem am 22. Jan. 1820 erfolgten Tode. Als sein Geburtsdatum wird 1788 angegeben; somit wäre er bei seiner Übersiedlung nach Wien erst 13 Jahre gewesen. Da dies höchst unwahrscheinlich ist—würde Goethe einen 13 jährigen Knaben hartnäckig als „jungen Mann" bezeichnen?—werden wir in die Geburtsangabe des Herrn Schmidt berechtigtes Mißtrauen setzen und seiner Eitelkeit etwa 5 Jahre hinzufügen dürfen. Das Empfehlungsschreiben scheint von Goethe geschrieben zu sein, bevor er die Antwort Retzers in Händen hatte (laut W. A. datiert 20. 5. 1801).

Das 3. unveröffentlichte Billet Goethes fand sich im Stadtarchiv Weimar an, es ist am 15. Nov. 1804 an den Bürgermeister von Weimar Karl Adolph Schultze gerichtet worden:

Wollten Ew. Wohlgeborenen, bevor Sie wieder Anstalt machen die Ehrenpforte zu illuminieren, mir es wissen lassen. Serenissimi Wunsch ist, daß man recht schönes Wetter abwarte.

Goethe

Die Ehrenpforte war zum Einzug des neuvermählten erbprinzlichen Paares aufgebaut worden. Man vergl. hierzu W. A. IV Bd. 30 S. 83 Nr. 4984a.

Die 4. Stelle mag ein kurzer Brief Goethes einnehmen, der dem Handschriftenbestand der Stadtbibliothek Trier angehört und bereits in der *Trierer Landeszeitung* vom 8. Febr. 1928 abgedruckt ist („Goethe u. Wyttenbach." Von Geheimrat Dr. Paulus). Da der Leserkreis dieser Zeitung sich auf Trier und nähere Umgebung beschränken dürfte, erscheint ein Zweitdruck an dieser Stelle nicht unangebracht. Zur Erläuterung sei vorweg bemerkt, daß Goethe bei seinem Aufenthalt in Trier 1792 durch die Vermittlung des jungen „Schullehrers" Johann Hugo Wyttenbach neue Journale zur Einsicht erhielt. Er hinterließ diese bei seiner Abreise mit nachfolgenden Zeilen:

Die mir verschafften Bücher hinterlasse ich mit Dank und bitte um Vergebung, daß die Berliner Monatsschrift durch ein zerplatztes Arzneyglas gelitten hat. Der Buchbinder, wenn er

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das Heft auseinandernimmt, wird wohl helfen können. Nehmen Sie zugleich meinen Dank für Ihre mannigfaltigen Bemühungen, erhalten Sie mir Ihr Andenken, und leben recht wohl.

Goethe

Die Bemerkung Goethes in der „Kampagne in Frankreich" vom 24. Okt., daß auch er von der allgemeinen Krankheit, der Ruhr, nicht ganz frei geblieben sei und einiger Arznei und Schonung bedurft habe, wird durch die obigen Zeilen bestätigt. Über Goethes Beziehungen zu Wyttenbach gibt R. Kaulitz-Niedecks Schrift *Die Geele Box. Goethes Erlebnisse in Trier* (Berlin 1928) nähere Auskunft.

Ein Brief Goethes an Vulpius vom 10. Juli 1813 ist Besitz der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek. Diese hat die Veröffentlichung bereits seit längerer Zeit für einen besonderen Anlaß in Aussicht genommen, so daß ein Abdruck hier nicht erfolgen kann. Auch in der Brahms-Stiftung, aufbewahrt im Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, liegt ein kurzes, wenig belangreiches Billet Goethes v. 26. 11. 1815 an einen Unbekannten, dessen Veröffentlichung nicht zugestanden werden konnte. In den Beständen des Hamburger Staatsarchivs findet sich neben einer Anzahl Originalbriefe Goethes an Perthes (die W. A. veröffentlicht die Briefe nach Konzept. Der Brief 219 in Bd. 36 ist richtig 4.1. statt 6.1. 1823 zu datieren) noch folgendes diktierte und mit eigenhändiger Unterschrift versehene Empfehlungsschreiben für die Eheleute Eberwein an Perthes:

Die Überbringer dieses sind die schon angekündigten Eberweinschen Eheleute. Ich wünsche, daß die Talente dieser vorzüglichen Musiker Ew. Wohlgeb. mit Ihren Freunden, einiges Vergnügen gewähren mögen, damit diese meine wohlgemeinte Empfehlung entschuldigt wo nicht gerechtfertigt sey.

ergebenst

Goethe

Weimar, 1n July
1817.

Ein Brief Goethes an den Rat der Stadt Lübeck vom 16. Jan. 1826, der in Abschrift im Hamburger Staatsarchiv liegt, deckt sich inhaltlich bis auf eine unwesentliche kleine Abweichung

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mit dem an den Rat der Stadt Frankfurt vom 13. Jan. 1826, der in der Weimarer Ausgabe Bd. 40 als Nr. 201 abgedruckt ist. Das Original des Briefes an den Lübecker Rat ist im Lübecker Archiv nicht vorhanden und scheint verloren zu sein.

Ein Denkspruch für Amalie Seebald, nach Wolfgang A. Thomas-San-Galli der „unsterblichen Geliebten" Beethovens, die zusammen mit Elise von der Recke 1811 in Karlsbad weilte und mit Goethe vermutlich des öfteren zusammentraf, liegt in der Handschriftensammlung des Kestner-Museums in Hannover:

Wie oft werden wir auf die Betrachtung
zurückgeführt: daß es soviel zufälliges
Unglück und so wenig zufälliges
Glück gebe; deshalb wir dann wohl
Ursache haben an den unvergänglichen
Gütern der Liebe, Freundschaft und
Neigung festzuhalten.

Goethe

Karlsbad,
d. 26. Juni
1811.

Schließlich noch zwei Kleinigkeiten, die der viel zu wenig bekannten Autographensammlung der Lutherhalle in Wittenberg und der Viewegschen Autographensammlung der Herzog August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel angehören. In ersterer liegt ein eigenhändiges Billet Goethes an den schon oben erwähnten Privatsekretär Schuchardt:

Morgen Sonntag früh um 8 Uhr wünsche Reg. Schucherten bey mir zu sehen.

G.

14. Aug. 1830.

Schuchardt hatte in diesen Tagen einen Aufsatz Heinrich Meyers über die Kupferstecherkunst abzuschreiben. In der Viewegschen Autographensammlung findet sich folgendes Bruchstück:

Hienächst ersuche Sie mir und den Meinigen heute Mittag das Vergnügen Ihrer Gegenwart zu gönnen.

J. W. v. Goethe.

Weimar d. 5. Jan. 1832.

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An wen die Einladung gerichtet ist, ließ sich nicht einwandfrei ermitteln. Goethe speiste am 5. Jan. laut Tagebuch im Familienkreise „ mit Herrn Rothe (dem Hauslehrer) und den Knaben."

Durch freundlichen Hinweis wurde ich darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass sich im Besitz des Herrn Studiendirektor Dr. Riemer noch unveröffentlichte Briefe Goethes, im Besitz des Herrn Konrektor Professor Dr. Lotichius noch ein eigenhändiger Brief Goethes befinden. Beide Herren hatten die Liebenswürdigkeit, mir den Besitz zu bestätigen, behielten sich die Veröffentlichung jedoch selbst bezw. einer befreundeten Stelle vor.

Zu über 30 Briefen Goethes, die in der Weimarer Ausgabe nach den Konzepten abgedruckt sind, lagen die Originale in Bibliotheken oder Archiven. Einige bedeutende Berichtigungen, die sich aus einem Vergleich ergeben und die ich mir aufnotierte, gebe ich hier:

Der in der W. A. IV Bd. 39 Nr. 201 abgedruckte Brief an den Großherzog von Hessen ist nicht an diesen, sondern in Wahrheit an den Großherzog Georg von Mecklenburg-Strelitz gerichtet (Original im Großh.-Familienarchiv in Neustrelitz). Der in Bd. 44 unter Nr. 129 abgedruckte Brief an Nees v. Esenbeck ist richtig 17. Juni 1828 zu datieren, Absatz 2 und 3 gehören an 1. und 2. Stelle, Absatz 1 an den Schluß (Original im Großh. Hausarchiv in Weimar). Im Nationalmuseum in Prag liegt eine eigenhändige Abschrift Goethes von „ Mit einem gemalten Bande," die die W. A. nicht kennt. Die Handschrift wurde von Professor Josef Bayer 1893 dem Nationalmuseum geschenkt, der sie seinerseits von Josef Huschak erhielt. Im allgemeinen gilt eine Goethehandschrift als Wertobjekt. Es wirkt erfrischend, auch einmal die gegenteilige Ansicht zu hören. Huschak übersendet die Handschrift an Bayer mit den lapidaren Sätzen „ Das bewußte Göthe-Gedicht widme ich Ihnen; ich bin gar kein Schwärmer für ihn. . . . In Ihrem Besitze ist es besser bewahrt, falls es gar irgend einen Werth hat " (freundliche Mitteilung der Direktion der Bibliothek des Nationalmuseums).

Von gefundenen Goethebriefen hört man nicht nur heute,

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sondern wird auch in Zukunft noch des öfteren hören. Verschwundene Goethebriefe ist ein Thema, das einen gewissen Seltenheitswert hat. Eine Anzahl Briefe, deren Originale noch der Weimarer Ausgabe bekannt waren, sind tatsächlich zur Zeit verschwunden, d.h. die in der Weimarer Ausgabe angegebenen Besitzer besitzen diese Briefe nicht mehr und wissen auch nichts über ihren Verbleib. So ergeht es dem Stadtarchiv Bonn (W. A. Bd. 45, 205), dem Museum des Botanischen Gartens in Breslau (Bd. 32, 55), dem Stadtarchiv Kamenz (34, 75) und der Stadtbibliothek Lüneburg (34, 253). Die 2 Briefe der ehemaligen Schloßbibliothek Wilhelmshöhe an Kriegsrat Gottsched und den Kurfürsten Wilhelm von Hessen (W. A. Bd. 31, 212 u. 236) sind mit den übrigen Beständen nicht in den Besitz der Landesbibliothek Kassel übergegangen; auch das Staatsarchiv Marburg sandte eine Fehlanzeige. Die Universitätsbibliothek Berlin besaß 2 Briefe Goethes an Jakob Grimm v. 19. 10. 1823 u. 30. 8. 1824 und 2 an Stichling v. 3. 4. 1819 u. 11. 3. 1820. Während die übrigen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek 1893 in den Besitz der Handschriftenabteilung der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek übergingen, sind diese 4 Briefe laut ausdrücklicher Mitteilung der Staatsbibliothek nicht dort. Die Universitätsbibliothek besitzt sie laut ebenso ausdrücklicher Mitteilung nicht mehr. Wo blieben diese 4 Briefe?

Der Besitz einer nicht unbeträchtlichen Zahl von Goethebriefen war einem Archive, dessen Namen ich nicht zu nennen gedenke, völlig aus dem Gedächtnis (und aus den Registranden?) geschwunden, so daß mir auf meine Anfrage nach Handschriften eine ablehnende Antwort zu teil wurde. Erst auf meinen Nachweis, daß zum mindesten e i n Goethebrief zu einem bestimmten Datum übernommen sei, brachte die Angelegenheit in Erinnerung und zur allseitig zufriedenstellenden Erledigung.

Unter „ verschwunden " muß von mir auch eine Hoffnung gebucht werden, die mir für kurze Zeit die Entdeckung einer bisher unbekannten Abhandlung Goethes vorgaukelte. Aus einer großen Anstalt wurde der Besitz eines $18\frac{1}{2}$ Folioseiten umfassenden Aufsatzes Goethes gemeldet. Titel und Anfang des Textes waren der Weimarer Ausgabe unbekannt. Freude-

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voll erbat ich das Manuskript, aber siehe, die Nachprüfung ergab, daß ein immerhin bemerkenswerter Fehler der Umschlag-Aufschrift vorlag. Weder entstammte der Inhalt Goethes Feder noch wies die Handschrift irgendwelche Ähnlichkeit mit der Goethes auf. So vergehen unsere schönsten Hoffnungen!

Über Goethebriefe und -handschriften schließlich, die verschwunden waren und sich wieder anfanden, berichte ich in meinem Aufsatz „Topographie der Goethehandschriften" im *Jahrbuch der Sammlung Kippenberg* Bd. 8.

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KOTZEBUE AND RUSSIA

By ARTHUR P. COLEMAN

THE figure of August von Kotzebue is a most astonishing one in literary history. His meteoric rise to the very summit of popularity among his contemporaries was followed by an eclipse so all-consuming that one searches almost in vain for a dispassionate and equitable account of his life. As with Ossian in Slavonic literatures, Kotzebue's name has become so completely identified with shallowness, immorality, and vulgarity that although he is often mentioned, he is rarely discussed with seriousness by the literary historian. So thoroughgoing has been the acceptance of this traditional concept of Kotzebue that Vilmar even used the term "Kotzebuesche Immoralität." [1]

The fact is, however, that somewhat more than a century ago Kotzebue towered high above all other European men of letters in popularity and in the widespread extent of his influence. His plays were translated into many languages.[2] In the Anglo-Saxon world he attained to great popularity.[3] There was much enthusiasm for his dramas even in the new United States, where he was well known from the year 1799.[4] In southern Europe

[1] Vilmar, *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur*, 27. Aufl., Marburg in Hessen, 1911, 457.

[2] Goedeke, *Grundriß zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Dresden, 1893, V, 275, and below, *passim*.

[3] This fame took its rise from the translation of *Die Negersklaven* in 1796. See Sellier, *Kotzebue in England*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 7. After that many translations appeared. See Thompson, L. F., *Kotzebue, A Survey of his Progress in France and England*, Paris, 1928, *passim*.

[4] Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines*, Madison, Wis., 1907, p. 30. In twenty years over thirty different plays appeared, most of them reprinted from two to five times. A more interpretative résumé is given by F. H. Wilkens, "Early Influence of German Literature in America" in *Americana Germanica*, III, No. 2. To the bibliographies in these two works should be added: "Kotzebue, Seven One-Act Dramas: *The Dead Nephew; The Quakers; The Turkish Ambassador; Our Frank; The Old Love Affair; The Watch and the Almond Tart;* and *The Walled-up Window*," tr. by Beatrice Beebe in *Poet Lore*, XXXVIII, 159–263. Also, "Kotzebue, *The Deserter*," tr. by Beatrice Beebe, *Golden Book*, July, 1928; and "Kotzebue, *The Man Who Couldn't Talk*," tr. by Beatrice Beebe, *Poet Lore*, XL (1930), 223–236.

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Kotzebue's influence was so extensive that the Serbo-Croat stage took its inception and inspiration from the production of translations of his plays.[5] Even in his native Germany Kotzebue, if judged by quantitative standards, eclipsed all his contemporaries in popularity.[6]

In spite, however, of Kotzebue's unexampled popularity both at home and abroad, the great mass of German critical opinion was from the outset, and has consistently remained, more or less bitterly opposed to him.[7] His lack of favor in Germany is to be explained not only on the ground of his immorality but also of that combative spirit which manifested itself, for example, in his well-known effort to cause friction between Goethe and Schiller, and in his feud with the Romanticists.[8] This unpleasant aspect of Kotzebue's nature, coupled with the fact that he was suspected of being a spy in the employ of the Russian government, was more damaging to his reputation than the immorality of which he was accused.[9] For the whole mass of odium which clings to his name because of this latter charge, there was never a foundation in fact. For Kotzebue was not a spy. Vilification on this ground has gone too far. The instinct of Young Germany in suspecting him of being an enemy of liberal institutions was correct, but the

[5] Curčin's excellent study of Kotzebue's influence in Yugoslavia deserves to be better known: "Kotzebue im Serbokroatischen," *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, XXX, 533–555. Curčin has identified 130 translations and the reworkings of about 80 dramas in Serbo-Croatian.

[6] "Vom Spielplan des Dresdener Theaters mögen aus der Zeit von 1789 bis 1813 folgende Zahlen ein Bild entwerfen: Iffland war mit 143, Kotzebue mit 334, das ist mit dreiunddreißig vom Hundert sämtlicher Aufführungen, beteiligt; auf Goethe, Lessing, und Schiller zusammen kommen von 1471 Schauspielabenden nur 58, also etwa vier vom Hundert." Martersteig, *Das deutsche Theater im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1904, S. 121. For other startling figures see first pages of Jaeckh, *Studien zu Kotzebues Lustspieltechnik*, 1. Teil, Stuttgart, 1899.

[7] See Thompson, *op. cit.*, 6–8, for many examples of this critical spirit. The bitterness of the attacks is subsiding somewhat, e.g., with Holl, *Geschichte des deutschen Lustspiels*, 1923, 210–211. But for a sympathetic appreciation of Kotzebue we must go outside of Germany. Rabany says: "Une fée capricieuse l'a doué à son berceau des qualités les plus enviables pour mieux rebaisser," in his *Kotzebue*, Paris-Nancy, 1893, p. 452.

[8] See Pohanka-Wohlmuth, *Kotzebue im Kampf mit den Romantikern*, Wien 1927.

[9] The *St. Petersburger Zeitung*, founded in 1727, only twenty-four years after the first newspaper in Russian, is significant evidence.

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specific charge of espionage was groundless. Because Kotzebue was disloyal to the spirit of liberalism which swept over the youth of Germany in the early years of the century, he seemed to the hot-blooded enthusiasts the very incarnation of treason, and this traditional conception of him has persisted.

If, then, Kotzebue was at heart out of sympathy with the Fatherland, his loyalty must have been divided. If his affections and his sympathies were not wholly enlisted in the cause of his native land, could it have been because he knew and loved Russia? The purpose of this paper is to show that Kotzebue knew Russia as few foreigners of his day knew her, and that for her he possessed a deep and genuine affection. From the Slavonic point of view he is a significant figure in the long chain of German influences in Russia, a fact which remains true even in the face of his omission from the most reliable modern account of the literature of the Germans in Russia.[10]

The facts of Kotzebue's stay in Russia are as follows: He went to Russia in the spring of 1781, possibly to escape the consequences of his scathing satire which had been directed against high personages in Germany, and certainly with the help of the Prussian minister in St. Petersburg. As secretary to General von Bauer, director of the German theater in the capital, Kotzebue took great interest in the German stage in St. Petersburg, at last even writing pieces for it himself. He was first brought to the attention of the court by von Bauer and recommended as a likely young man. Partly as a result of these good offices, Kotzebue was dispatched, upon the death of von Bauer, to Reval in Esthonian Russia as "assessor" at the High Court of Appeals. Having held this office for two years, Kotzebue succeeded to the chief magistracy with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, a rank which made him automatically a member of the Russian nobility. During the ten years of his tenure of this office he took an active part in the cultural life of Reval. Thus, he was a director of and an actor in an amateur theatrical club which raised 14,000 rubles for the poor in ten years. In 1795 Kotzebue laid before Catherine a plan for the

[10] Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*, 1. und 2. Aufl., IV, 31–47.

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founding of a university at Dorpat, a project which was successfully accomplished in the reign of Alexander. The same year he retired from duty and settled upon his country estates in Esthonia, where he founded an amateur theater. In 1797 Kotzebue returned to Germany where his activities, especially in Vienna and Weimar, are well known. In 1800 he entered Russia again, only to be exiled to Siberia through an insane whim of the Emperor Paul. He was soon released, however, and made the director of the German theater in St. Petersburg at a salary of more than 5000 rubles a year. At Paul's death Kotzebue left Russia and went to Weimar, where his disgraceful efforts to set Goethe and Schiller at loggerheads are well known. In 1804 he married his third wife, all three of his wives having been Esthonians, Russian subjects, speaking German for cultural purposes, Esthonian to servants. After 1804 Kotzebue again took up his abode in Esthonia for ten years. This time his two hobbies were the theater and scientific agriculture. In 1814 he became consul-general for Russia in Königsberg and in 1817 was sent to Weimar to report on German affairs for the Russian foreign office. The rest of his dramatic life is a matter of common information,[11] except, perhaps, the fact that on December 5, 1818, he wrote to the Russian government, citing his thirty-seven years' service and asking to be allowed to retire to Russia. In February, 1819, the Emperor Alexander granted this request and forwarded to him money for his traveling expenses. But before he could get himself safely out

[11] The sources for Kotzebue's stay in the Russian empire are meagre. All the old biographies concern themselves with the German episodes or rely on his own *Das merkwürdigste Jahr meines Lebens*, Berlin, 1801. In this respect Rabany is no better. The only respectable account is: A. Bodisco, "Aus dem Leben A. v. Kotzebues" in the *Deutsche Monatsschrift für Rußland*, April, 1914, 241–256, which is primarily concerned with the Esthonian sojourn. Kotzebue's later work for Russia (1813 et seq.) is well described by Goriainov, "A. v. Kotzebue als Literatur-Kommissar d. russ. Regierung," *Deutsche Revue*, 1910, Heft 6, 371–377. Goriainov shows that Kotzebue's original idea in editing the *Russisch-Deutsches Wochenblatt* was a sort of survey of Western life for the benefit, primarily, of Russian officials. On July 17, 1817, he sent a report on more than 100 Western books from Weimar. On Oct. 7, 1817, he sent another report and gave the plan for the *Russisch-Deutsches Wochenblatt*. But Kotzebue's life in Russia proper (1781–83) has never been studied, nor have his relations with Russian literary men and their works. His own autobiographical account of this period, translated in the *Sketch of the Life and Literary Career of Augustus von Kotzebue*, London, 1830, pp. 54–60, is very meagre.

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of Germany the storm had broken about his head. On March 23 Kotzebue was murdered as a Russian spy.

The news of the murder, sent by fast courier to St. Petersburg the same day, caused consternation. Alexander himself was deeply touched. To the Prussian ambassador he said: "What do you think of the terrible occurrence and of the spirit which prevails in Germany?" [12] The *St. Petersburger Zeitung* published several articles concerning Kotzebue's violent death,[13] and feeling among Russian officials was strong against the German liberals, especially the students. There is little doubt that the repressive measures which followed in Germany—the execution of Sand, police censorship on pamphlets, the curtailment of academic freedom, and the suppression of revolutionary societies —received strong diplomatic support from Russia.

Kotzebue served the Russian government long and faithfully.[14] The question arises whether he knew the Russian language. Unquestionably he did. In *Das merkwürdigste Jahr meines Lebens* (Berlin, 1801) he says, when informed that his escort to the Siberian exile spoke neither French nor German: "Das ist schlimm, denn mein Russisch hab' ich fast ganz vergessen." [15] His long residence in the German speaking [16] provinces of Russia subsequent to the years spent in Russia itself,

[12] R. van Rhyn, "Der Eindruck der Ermordung Kotzebues in Petersburg," *Österreichische Rundschau*, XXIV, 430.

[13] "Er wird ermordet.—Warum?—Weil er anderer Meinung war als andere—zu einer Zeit, wo eben Freiheit der Meinung und der Presse von allen Seiten als das höchste Gut erkannt und erfordert wird.—Von wem?—Von einem Geweihten der Religion, der Liebe, und der Duldung.—Wo?—In Deutschland, wo man bisher den Meuchelmord nicht kannte und die Verabscheuung des Meuchelmords für den schönsten Zug des wahren Deutschtums hielt." . . . Quoted by Carl Eichhorn, *Die Geschichte der St. Petersburger Zeitung*, St. Petersburg, 1902, 157–158.

[14] This was made easy by that very instability of his which so enraged the Western world. On January 13, 1791, he wrote from Mainz to Grimm, whom he had met in Paris: "Ich habe manchmal die Vorstellung, daß unter den gegenwärtigen Umständen die Kaiserin [Catherine] wohl mutiger Männer bedürfen könne, um diesen oder jenen vielleicht heikeln (scabreux) oder sogar gefährlichen Auftrag auszuführen, und da man nie mehr Mut besitzt, als wenn man eben alles verloren hat [Kotzebue's wife had just died], so wäre ich im Augenblick der allergeeignetste Mann für einen derartigen Posten." Quoted by I. v. Goriainov in *Deutsche Revue*, 1910, VI, 377.

[15] P. 55.

[16] The Livonian knights had so thoroughly Germanized the Esthonian province of the Russian Empire that the Baltic languages were not used in high circles.

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and in Germany and Austria, had caused him to lose something of his former command of the language.[17]

Although there is evidence that Kotzebue's knowledge of Russian was considerable, we must not assume that he ever attained to a complete mastery of it.[18] Indeed, there was small need for a German to learn Russian perfectly when so much of the court life was under German influence. But that he knew Russian well enough to be thoroughly familiar with the contemporary Russian stage is evidenced by his borrowings from Russian dramatic literature, as will be shown later in this paper.

Early in his Russian career, Kotzebue came under the influence of the court of the Empress Catherine. What influence did the spirit of the empress herself as it permeated the court exert upon the impressionable youth, and what was her opinion of this German who appeared, and for whom favors were asked?

Kotzebue's associations at the Russian court were undoubtedly of importance in fixing in his mind those anti-liberal ideas which were later to become so apparent in his life and letters. When he first came to Russia, the great empress was approaching the end of her long reign. In earlier years she had maintained stimulating relations by correspondence with many of the leading figures in French letters, among them Diderot, d'Alembert, and even Voltaire. To import the new ideas of France, and to discuss them in elegant soirées, was a passion with the empress. But she wished to keep such discussions on a high and purely theoretical plane, nor would she tolerate their practical application. For she was convinced that French liberalism was a menace to the age-old autocratic system of her adopted country. Finally in 1793 a ukase prohibiting the introduction into Russia of gazettes, journals, and other periodicals published in France was promulgated.[19] Undoubtedly

[17] A contemporary Russian review of a translation by Kotzebue from the Russian contains these words: "It is evident that Herr Kotzebue knows the Russian language very well." *Moskovski Zhurnal*, Aug., 1792. Reprinted, Moskva, 1803, 259.

[18] In a Russian review of Kotzebue's *Switrigail* we read: "Several small errors which have crept in can be attributed to an insufficient knowledge of the Russian language [in reading source material] and can easily be corrected." Krug in *Russki Archiv*, 1869, p. 615.

[19] Veselovsky, *Zapadnoye Vliyanye v novoy russkoy literaturye*, Moskva, 1906, 70.

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the example of Catherine in admiring the revolutionary ideas of France at the same time that she so eagerly choked all liberal practices made an impression on the young man in his twenties. The unexplainable inconsistencies in Kotzebue which persisted to the very end of his life, his disposition to preach doctrines which he shrank from practising, could scarcely escape being exaggerated by the hollow sophistries of the empress.

Catherine, as is well known, wrote many comedies,[20] some of which must certainly have been known to Kotzebue. Possibly the effectiveness of such short plays may have been suggested to the young German by Catherine's penchant for this form of drama.

The empress herself does not seem to have been much impressed by the industry of young Kotzebue. We find this indicated in one of her letters to Baron Grimm, who, in accordance with the youth's request,[21] had apparently urged upon her Kotzebue's talents. She says (March 3, 1791): "Kotzebue is perhaps an extraordinary man and writer; but to tell the truth he does not think of his duties; he draws his salary and others do his work for him. He is under the direct patronage of Zimmermann who praises him, but for all that I foresee the time when the Senate will retire him because of non-fulfilment of duties, and the Senate will act legally, and there can be no objection." [22] In another letter to the same person, she gives an equally unflattering picture of Kotzebue's character (April 26, 1791):

Herr Kotzebue has been boring me. I do not have the honor of knowing him, but I do know that he obliges all to write to me, and is himself everywhere but where he ought to be. If he has such a disposition that he cannot sit quietly in place, he is free to travel wherever he wishes. Here he is considered an arrant Prussian; he had relations with Gustav; I presume that this fool in the capacity of international protector has flattered him as a gifted fellow and a littérateur. I shall read his letter and if I can I shall write commentaries on it.[23]

[20] Coleman, *Humor in the Russian Comedy from Catherine to Gogol*, New York, 1925, 3–6.

[21] See note 14.

[22] *Russki Archiv*, 1878, Bk. III, 177. The letter is in Russian.

[23] *Ibid.*, 185.

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These "commentaries," interesting as they would be, we do not have. But five weeks later the old monarch sends further unfavorable news to Grimm regarding his friend:

Tsarskoe Selo, June 3, A.D. 1791.

. . . As for your Kotzebue, about whom I constantly hear, to tell you the truth, I am rather lukewarm toward him; I have heard that two of his plays were forbidden in Vienna for reasons unknown to me. . . .[24]

These remarks of Catherine indicate that the young German was already showing the self-conceit and the tactlessness which marked his later career in Germany and which brought him so much unpopularity with his contemporaries and with posterity. An instance of this is found in connection with a play which he wrote during this period. This was the second play of his which has come to light, but which, unfortunately, has never been printed. The hand of the censor fell upon it after its first performance in Petersburg and it was promptly withdrawn. The manuscript of this play, which Kotzebue called *Demetrius Zaar von Moscou* and which was written in 1782, has recently been discovered and described by Kienzl.[25] One factor in drawing forth the ire of the censor was Kotzebue's consummate tactlessness in making Demetrius the real heir to the throne of the Romanoffs in the face of a ukase of Peter the Great which had pronounced him an impostor.

What were Kotzebue's relations with contemporary Russian men of letters and with Russian literature? An exhaustive answer to this question would be possible only through the examination of unpublished material and of contemporary journals accessible only in Leningrad and Moscow. But some light may nevertheless be thrown on the subject by a canvass of sources which are generally available.

The most famous writer of comedies in Russia at the time of Kotzebue's first visit was Denis Ivanovich Fonvizin (1744–1792). His plays must have soon become familiar to the

[24] *Ibid.*, 191.

[25] "Der erste deutsche Demetrius" in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, CLXXI, 417–425, Berlin, 1919. This play was undoubtedly known to Schiller. See Ernst Müller in the *Jahresberichte für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, 1893, IV, 9: 160.

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young German and probably were not without influence upon him. Thus, one of the most striking types in Fonvizin is the Gallophile, whose adoption of the French language and manners is presented in sharply satirical lines. Fonvizin's Brigadier declares of this well-known type: "N'importe! Anyone who has been in Paris has the right, in speaking of Russians, not to include himself in their number, because he has already become more of a Frenchman than a Russian." [26] The Gallophile son who is thus described looks with contempt, at the same time, upon his Russian father: "C'est l'homme le plus bourru, que je connais." [27]

The brigadier himself is, to be sure, a genuine Russian, as Baron Wurm is a genuine German in Kotzebue's *Der Russe in Deutschland.* But in Graf von Schlam in this play the author has created much the same sort of fellow as the above-mentioned son. He cries: "O weh! la soupe—ich bin vergiftet—eilet—rennt—den Arzt herbei!—ich aß—schon fühl' ich, wie es brennt—Je suis perdu!—la soupe—die Angst—die Qual—die Stiche—." [28]

Then again in Fonvizin's *The Choice of a Tutor* we have the spectacle of a boy who has been rendered good-for-nothing by an education like the one which Kotzebue described later in the *Hyperboräische Esel.*

Sentimentalism in Russia had its most notable exponent in Karamzin (1766–1826), whose *Poor Liza* [29] compares not unfavorably with the sentimental figure in Sterne's *Sentimental Journey,* Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* or Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers.* Since the influence of Karamzin was rampant at the time of Kotzebue's sojourn in Russia, it is possible that the highly sentimental strain in the latter's *Die*

[26] *Brigadier,* in *Perboye polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy D. I. Fonvizina,* S.-P., Moskva, 1888, 84.

[27] *Ibid.,* 82.

[28] *Theater von August von Kotzebue,* Kummer in Leipzig, Klang in Wien, 1841, XXII, 79.

[29] An example from *Poor Liza* will illustrate the sentimentalism of Karamzin: "My heart is drenched with blood at this moment. I forget the human in Eraste—ready to curse him—but my tongue does not move—I look at the sky and tears splash over my face. [Author's comment follows.] Oh, why do I write not a romance, but a sad piece of truth?"

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Geschichte meines Vaters received its impulse from Karamzin himself.

That Karamzin, as the young editor of the *Moskovski Zhurnal*, early became familiar with the work of Kotzebue is evident. In a review printed in August, 1792, he writes of the latter's translation from Derzhavin, entitled *Der Traum des Mvrsa* (1792):

> The translator is one of the real poets of Germany; his translation is near to the original, smooth, and pleasing. [Here follows an illustrative passage.] Only one verse did I notice in the translation which is not in the original, but it is very much to the point:
>
> Es gibt genug Fakire
> Und Kadis, welche wähnten
> Daß ich dir heuchelte,
> Wie sie zu heucheln pflegen.
>
> . . . He will likely translate other works of our Poet Laureate which will still more convince the German public that the descriptive powers of the Russians do not cool from the cruel frosts of their climate. All authors must certainly think first of their own and their public's welfare; but it is gratifying when their names become known in other lands.[30]

The sequel to this rather extravagant praise of Kotzebue is interesting to note. A condition of literary backwardness and servility existed in Russia comparable to that which prevailed in America during the early nineteenth century. As Goodnight has pointed out, the vogue for Kotzebue in America subsided when American men of letters began to study at the German universities and to acquire from their Continental associations certain standards of literary criticism.[31] So it was with Russia in the period under consideration. Having no reliable critical standards of their own, and being hampered by a sense of cultural inferiority, the Russians looked to western Europe for their literary judgments. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Karamzin, just one month after writing this laudatory

[30] *Moskovski Zhurnal*, second edition, Moskva, 1803, 58–59.

[31] Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846*, Madison, Wis., 1907, p. 61.

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review, cooling off in his enthusiasm for Kotzebue as a translator. His revised judgment he bases upon a German review of Kotzebue's translation (Sept., 1792): *Felizens Bild, aus dem Russischen des Herrn Gavrilo Romanowitsch Derschawin, übersetzt von Kotzebue*, 1792. A severe review (in the *Yenskikh Uchonykh Vyedomostyakh* [Jena]) is not very well satisfied with the translation, finding in it some inaccuracies, and weak, prosaic verses.[32] No more praise of Kotzebue came from the pen of Karamzin, and henceforth he took his cue from the German critics. Consequently when Derzhavin sent to the Russian editor a copy of Kotzebue's more inclusive translation of his (Derzhavin's) works,[33] Karamzin was quite careful to praise the original, allowing the virtue of the translator to pass unnoticed (Sept. 20, 1793): ". . . I thank you most sincerely for the German translation of your works, sent to me [by I. I. Demetriev]. I read all with great satisfaction and I rejoice to behold the thoughts of the Russian poet in a German garb. . . . The present times are not very favorable for literature." [34]

Finally, however, when Kotzebue at last met Karamzin in person, the conversation was very pleasant. Kotzebue speaks of him as a "gentleman known even in Germany by his *Letters of a Russian Traveller*." [35]

Kotzebue must have been sincerely interested in the works of Derzhavin, poet laureate during the reign of Catherine, or he would not have undertaken the translation of so much of his poetry.[36] The Russian poet's work is marked by an exagger-

[32] *Moskovski Zhurnal, ed. cit.*, 352–353.

[33] *Gedichte des Herrn Staatsrath von Derschawin aus dem Russischen übersetzt*, Leipzig, 1793.

[34] *Sochineniya Derzhavina*, 2e Akad. Izd. St.-P., 1876, V, 867.

[35] *Merk. Jahr*, II, 79.

[36] Besides *Der Traum des Mursa* (see note 75) he published, as noted above, *Felizens Bild*. Iversen und Fehmer, Reval, 1792. The next year Kummer in Leipzig brought out his *Gedichte des Herrn Staatsrath von Derschawin* (note 33). This volume contains the following:

1. A reprint of the 1792 edition of *Der Traum des Mursa*.
2. *Felizens Bild* (in a new translation).

Besides there were German renderings of the following poems:

3. Oda byeloy tsaritsy.
4. Blagodarnost Felitsye.
5. Liricheskaya pyesn na pokoreniye Izmail.

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ated baroque style, and it is possible that the bombastic effusions which we find here and there in Kotzebue [37] owe something to the pomposity of Derzhavin.[38] Apparently the relations between poet and translator were extremely friendly, Derzhavin probably having been flattered by the translation of his works into the German tongue, and Kotzebue having been equally warmed by the interest in him which the older man took. Derzhavin must eventually have determined to do all in his power to be of assistance to the young translator. Moved partly by self-interest, therefore, he wrote to Prince Repnin, governor of the province of Esthonia, asking for the advancement of Kotzebue. The reply to his appeal reads:

Riga, Jan. 11, 1793.

My dear Gabriel Romanovich [Derzhavin]:

Having received your letter of the fourth inst., and having a sincere desire always and in all respects to be of service to you, I am very much grieved that in the case of Herr Kotzebue I cannot share your opinion, not because he has not been a completely worthy and promising young man, but because he does not know the Russian language and the Russian laws well enough. A knowledge of these is indispensable for the duties of district prosecutor, for without this knowledge he might unintentionally allow an oversight in the necessary procedure of the court or cause confusion, and since each of these is harmful,

6. Oda Bog.
7. Oda na sment knyaznya Meshcherski.
8. Grebenevski klyuch.
9. Kalliopye.
10. Na rozhdeniye porphirorodnago otroka.
11. Sosyedi.

[37] For example in *Der Schutzgeist*.

[38] Thus, Derzhavin's ode on the death of Catherine opens with the following appeal:

"Russia, give praise to Catherine,
Ruler of thine, Thy mother. . . .
Even in death, the model for czars!
Weep thou, oh, weep for her!
She who inspired the spirit of glory,
Created heroes,
And soothed savage manners,
She who was a very angel in the flesh."

From *Sochineniya Derzhavina*, ed. Grot., St.-P., 1868, I, 536. Similar adulation of a monarch by Kotzebue is found, for example, in "Die Zurückkunft des Vaters," *Theater*, XII, 26.

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there is no need to give further proof on this score. Although Herr Kotzebue has translated several works from the Russian into German, this can be done with the help of a lexicon and the advice of other people, upon whose aid a public prosecutor would scarcely be able or have the time to rely. These, my dear Sir, are my reasons and so I venture to ask your friendly confidence in entrusting to me the fate of Herr Kotzebue. I shall try to serve him on another occasion and I assure you that he will lose nothing by this.[39]

Apparently Kotzebue's insufficient knowledge of Russian did not dampen the ardor of Derzhavin in his search for a post for his protégé in which the German might live comfortably, unencumbered by such arduous duties as would hamper his literary career. On Dec. 27, 1793, Prince Repnin was obliged, therefore, to advance other reasons than Kotzebue's lack of a perfect knowledge of Russian. His letter reads:

Dear Gabriel Romanovich,

With feelings well-known to you I had the honor to receive your letter of the 16th inst. I have long been desirous of securing a post for Herr Kotzebue, agreeable to him and equal in honor to the presidency of the high district court, namely the post of councillor of the tribunal. But he himself does not want this, because his service would then be continuous, whereas the high district court has its regular furlough, during which times he would be able to improve himself through studies which, however, the Russian Empire does not demand of him. Such a lax disposition I do not approve in a man in the service; but with the earnest desire to do you a favor, I would, nevertheless, fulfil your request if it should be possible for me to do so. Inasmuch, however, as the high district court is a court of the nobility, you yourself can see that if there should be appointed to the post of president a noble, as Herr Kotzebue says he is, but who is also a foreigner, then soon, because of this, all the Esthonian nobility would be deeply affronted, all the more because this court was formerly held by their own High Court of Justice which was composed of none but Esthonian nobles. Consequently, out of respect due the nobility, I cannot put in this position anyone except a noble of Esthonia. Besides this, I do not wish, on account of the interest you have in Herr Kotzebue, to conceal from Your Excellency the fact that not long ago he wrote a very unseemly letter to me and was most

[39] *Sochineniya Derzhavina*, 2° Akad. Izd. St.-P., 1876, 852–853, letter No. 768.

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impertinent in his criticisms of the government, saying that the offices here are bought for money. To this I replied with a severe rebuke. Although this is not known to anybody, I still felt it to be my duty to inform you of it in sincerity and friendliness. . . .[40]

Such were Kotzebue's relations with Derzhavin. This brief exchange with Repnin is further evidence that the Russians were not blind to Kotzebue's instability and insincerity. We know, moreover, that, in spite of the efforts of his friend Derzhavin, Kotzebue received no promotion and in 1795 retired from the service.

It is possible that Kotzebue may have been influenced by still another Russian author. In *Graf Beniowsky* (1795), Kotzebue mentions a popular comic opera of the day, the *Melnik* (1779) of Ablesimov. It may be noted that Kotzebue wrote plays similar in tone to *Melnik*, plays such as *Feodore*, said to be founded on the same incident as Le Maistre's *La jeune Sibirienne*.[41]

The foremost representative of romanticism in Russia was Zhukovski (1783–1852). He was too young to know Kotzebue well, but we know that in 1801 he translated into Russian the German author's *Die jüngsten Kinder meiner Laune*.[42]

Kotzebue's extreme vogue on the Russian stage of the early years of the nineteenth century finally caused active jealousy on the part of the Russians. One minor playwright, Prince Gorschakov, wrote in 1806 a verse ending with the words: "And Kotzebueism alone is now upon the stage." [43]

Most interesting to the student of Slavonic philology is the use which Kotzebue made of purely Slavonic words. In *Graf Beniowsky* we have: "Die haben mir Muchomor zu trinken gegeben—mein Kopf ist ganz verwirrt." [44] "Muchomor" would be absolutely unintelligible to a German audience, yet it is given with no explanation. To the Slav it is the ordinary word for

[40] *Ibid.*, 875, letter no. 807.

[41] Rabany, *op. cit.*, 488.

[42] *Polnoe Sobraniye Sochineniy V. A. Zhukovskego*, St.-P., 1902, I, 8. Zhukovski received seventy-five rubles for this translation.

[43] *Sbornik Pushkinskago Doma na 1923 god.*, Petrograd, 1922, 69

[44] *Theater*, IV, 147.

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"toadstool," which appears with the same spelling in Bulgarian, Polish, and Czech, and as "mukhara" in Serbian.

In *Der Russe in Deutschland* we have: "Doch siehe da, vom Eismeer kommt ein Samojede." [45] This is an allusion to a Ural-Altaic tribe in northern and northeastern Russia and in Siberia, a tribe noted for its primitive customs. The name does not mean cannibal or self-eater (in Russian "samo" means self, "yedat" to eat), as was supposed by early travellers like Le Brun.[46]

In *Der alte Leibkutscher Peter des Dritten* (1799) we find among the "Personen": "Ivannschko, ein Sbitmschick (ein gemeiner Russe der auf den Strassen mit einer grossen Teemaschine herumgeht, und ein warmes Getränk aus Honig, Pfeffer, und Wasser verkauft)." [47] Now "sbitenshchik" is the old Russian word for "a seller of sbiten," and "sbiten" itself occurs in Tolstoy's *Prince Serébryany* when the nurse says to Ivan: "It wouldn't be a bad idea for you to drink some sbiten, master! Your father used to drink it at night, may he rest in peace! And your mother? God have mercy on her soul, used to love sbiten. . . ." [48] Kotzebue makes correct use of the word,[49] but, on the other hand, the inaccuracy of the transliteration of "sbitenshchik" into the German "Sbitmschick" would indicate that although he had an extensive reading and a considerable speaking knowledge of Russian, he could not have had much skill in writing and spelling the language. The use of "m" for "en," and of "sch" for "shch," proves that he wrote from ear memory and not from eye memory, and that his ear memory was inaccurate.

Later, in *Der alte Leibkutscher Peter des Dritten*, we read: "Ivan. Dann will ich euch den herrlichsten Met brauen, und eine Wischnowka und Malinowka vorsetzen, fast so süß als eure Küsse." [50] The words "Wischnowka" and "Malinowka"

[45] Kotzebue, *op. cit.*, XXII, 67.

[46] *The Present State of Russia*, tr. from the High-Dutch, London, 1723, II, 373.

[47] *Theater*, IX, 102.

[48] A. K. Tolstoy, *A Prince of Outlaws* [*Prince Serébryany*], tr. by C. A. Manning, New York, 1927, 104–105.

[49] *Op. cit.*, 405.

[50] *Theater*, IX, 116.

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are explained by Kotzebue in a footnote as "Getränke aus Kirschensaft, Zucker, und Wein." The explanation is in the main correct,[51] and, what is more important, the words have typical Slavonic roots.

Later in the same play we have: "Dietrich. Dann sitzen wir beide alten Knasterbärte, und mokieren uns, wenn das junge Volk tändelt, und spielen Durak mit deinen Enkeln." [52] "Durak" is similar to the well-known German word *Tarok* (Italian, *tarocca*) but the form "Durak" is Slavonic. This would point to a considerable degree of Russification on the part of Kotzebue. "Igrat duraki" is an exact translation of "spielen Durak" and its meaning here is "card-game." [53] Its ordinary meaning, however, is "fool." Can Kotzebue have had the pun in mind?

Again, Kotzebue uses the word "iswoschtschik." [54] And again his transliteration points to auditory memory, the Russian being "izvoshchik," cab-driver. In actual pronunciation the voiced consonant *z* can easily become unvoiced *s*. As for "shch," his "schtsch" is at least closer to the correct sound than the "sch" in "sbitenschick," where no effort was made to carry over the sound of "ch," a sound which does not occur in German.[55]

Not only did Kotzebue use certain genuinely Slavonic words, in some cases without explanation, but he showed a considerable knowledge of the Slavonic temperament. First of all, he notes the ever-present strain of superstition. This is well illustrated by Stepanoff in *Graf Beniowsky* when he says to Afan, his sweetheart, who loves another: "Ha! dann soll ein lustig Spiel beginnen! auf meinem Grabe soll ein lustig Spiel beginnen! auf meinem Grabe sollen die Furien Eure Hochzeitfackel

[51] This grouping of the two under "cherry juice" is not quite accurate, for "malinowka" is a drink made of "malina," "raspberry" (spelled the same in Bulgarian, Serbian, Czech, and Polish). But "wischnowka" comes from "vishnaya," "cherry" (Bulgarian and Serbian the same; Polish, "wišnia"; Czech, "višně," "apricot") while the ordinary word for "cherry" is "trešne".

[52] *Ibid.*, IX, 126.

[53] Dal, *Tolkovy Slobar zhivovo velikorusskago Yazyka*, St.-P., Moskva, 1912.

[54] Kotzebue, *Feodore*, *op. cit.*, XXVI, 300.

[55] "Izvoshchik" occurs only in Russian of all the Slavonic languages, but the root "woz," vehicle, occurs in Serbian, Czech, and Polish.

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schwingen."[56] This supernatural note is a dominant one in all Slavonic literatures, from Pushkin's *Ruslan and Ludmila* to Andreyev's *The Red Laugh*, while it appears strongly in the great Polish trio, Mickiewicz, Słowacki, and Krasiński.

Then, the German dramatist describes the black despair so characteristic of the Slav. Thus Graf Beniowsky says: "Ohne Schiffe, ohne Wegweiser, ohne Waffen, ohne Brot, heute gegen Menschen, morgen gegen Hunger kämpfend, heute frei und morgen tot."[57]

In his autobiographical account of his arrest and banishment to Siberia, Kotzebue showed himself a keen and interested observer of Russian peasant life. He caught the spirit of hospitality which burns so warmly in every Slavic peasant. Considering the fact that he wrote more than half a century before the freeing of the serfs, when a man still spoke of buying a village with so many "souls" (dushy), and when no Russian author had yet deigned to discover virtues among the peasants, his observations are all the more remarkable:

> Ich kann nicht umhin, bei dieser Gelegenheit der echten anspruchlosen Gastfreiheit der russischen Bauern zu erwähnen, welche immer sichtbarer wird, je tiefer man in das Land kommt. Sie wetteifern miteinander, ihre Wohnungen zum Nachtlager anzubieten; sie finden sich geehrt, wenn man bei ihnen einspricht; sie tragen alles auf, was sie haben, und die Freude glänzt in ihren Augen, wenn man tüchtig zulangt.[58]

Kotzebue must also have known the Polish temperament as well as the Russian, for he has observed that, whereas the Russian is the more passionate, the Pole is the more romantic. In *Der Russe in Deutschland*, Gretchen, the chamber-maid of the heroine, says:

> Wenn alle Russen so für ihre Mädchen glüh'n,
> So möchte man fürwahr sogleich nach Rußland zieh'n.[59]

Because of this essential difference in their natures, Kotzebue chose a Pole rather than a Russian to lead the reckless and

[56] Kotzebue, *op. cit.*, IV, 125.
[57] *Ibid.*, 99.
[58] *Merk. Jahr*, I, 185.
[59] *Theater*, XXII, 26.

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desperate expedition in *Graf Beniowsky*. The author did this in spite of the fact that he was well aware of the intense race prejudice existing between Russian and Pole, for in this drama he makes the Russian Stepanoff endeavor to set the conspirators against Beniowsky on the ground that he is a Pole.[60]

Kotzebue possessed, for his day, a remarkable knowledge of Slavonic history. His contacts with the court of the Emperor Paul [61] in a period when new ideas were just breaking into the gloom of Russian isolation gave him a keen insight into the reaction of the intellectual classes. He apparently saw the reign of Paul in its true historic light, realizing that much that had been praised during the lifetime of the insane emperor through fear of his disfavor would, upon his death, appear unpraiseworthy.[62] Kotzebue reflects the enthusiasm with which the Russian people greeted the passing of the old emperor and welcomed at once a new century and a new monarch. In *Der Russe in Deutschland* he has Feodor say:

> Er führt dich jauchzend an der Wolga reichen Strand,
> Wo Segen sich ergoß auf blühende Gefilde,
> Wo Gott sich offenbart in Alexanders Milde.[63]

In the same play enthusiasm for Alexander bursts forth again,[64] and in *Die Zurückkunft des Vaters* and in *Feodore* there are similar examples.[65] Indeed the list could be multiplied indefinitely.

[60] *Ibid.*, IV, 102.

[61] Kotzebue knew the Emperor Paul personally. When commissioned to describe the imperial palace, he did so with such remarkable thoroughness that the monumental work of Schilder (*Imperator Pavel I*, St.-P., 1901) quotes the description from Kotzebue's *Das merkwürdigste Jahr meines Lebens* (II, 182–246) verbatim in nineteen pages and makes six other references to him, all tending to show that he regarded the German as a reliable source. Kotzebue was, moreover, one of the last men to see the Emperor Paul alive. In Kotzebue's account of their last conversation the words occur: "Uns beiden ahnete wohl nicht, daß wir einander zum letzten Male gesehen hatten."

[62] Kotzebue says: "Wenngleich, nach dem Tode Kaiser Paul des Ersten, manche seiner Handlungen in einem andern Lichte erscheinen, und manches, was die Furcht niederschrieb, unter einer milden Regierung verwischt werden wird, so ist und bleibt doch das von ihm errichtete Militär-Waisenhaus eine sehr lobenswürdige Anstalt." *Theater*, XII, 4.

[63] *Op. cit.*, XXII, 31.

[64] *Ibid.*, 92.

[65] *Op. cit.*, XII, 19, 25; and XXVI, 305.

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Few recall to-day that Kotzebue wrote two books entitled *Preußens ältere Geschichte* and *Switrigail oder Beiträge zu der Geschichte von Lithauen, Rußland, Polen, und Preußen.* Yet when the foremost Polish poet, in many respects the greatest Slavonic poet, Adam Mickiewicz, became interested in the ancient history of Lithuania, he made free use of these works.[66] His famous poem *Grażyna* is partially based on Kotzebue's material.[67] In his own notes Mickiewicz says: "The German author August Kotzebue also tells about the Knights of the Cross and describes in detail their cruel and unjust attack on the Prussians and Lithuanians. Although himself unfriendly to the Lithuanians and Poles, in the field of Lithuanian history he is very important." [68]

Kotzebue's travels, coupled with his observant mind, enabled him to acquire a surprisingly wide knowledge of Russia and Siberia for his time. He had an eye for the customs and characteristics of the peasants, as we have seen. He commented on customs that were conspicuous by their difference from those of his own country, the custom, for example, which girls had of bathing *à la nature*, something which no Russian would notice for its very commonness.[69]

Kotzebue must have caught hints that Russian imperialism was looking with greedy eyes [70] toward expansion along the western coast of the United States of America, for in *Graf Beniowsky* he makes humorous allusions to the notion.[71]

The Slavonic types in Kotzebue are not very individual. The women are simply bundles of sentimentality. No author had yet thought of using the sturdy peasant types, and the women of the higher classes whom Russian authors of the time portrayed were weak imitations of what they thought a French woman should be. The governor in *Graf Beniowsky* is the truest and most realistic Slavonic type, if we may discount his wild sentimentality at the end. In spite of his weakness, his

[66] *Pisma Adama Mickiewicza*, statement by Prof. Kallenbach, I, 13.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] *Ibid.*, I, 201–202.

[69] *Merk. Jahr*, I, 384.

[70] There was a "discovery of America" from the west as well as from the east. See Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific*, Cleveland, 1914.

[71] *Op. cit.*, XII, 130, 136, 138, 144, 147, etc.

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genuine kindheartedness is evident, while his devotion to pleasure tallies with the description which Washington Irving gives of Baranov, the Governor of Alaska, in *Astoria*.[72]

We come, finally, to a highly interesting question. Is the charge of immorality, so often laid against Kotzebue by his German critics, partially a result of his Slavonic experiences? Russian society at the time of the Empress Catherine was not of the strictest, and it was this society which the young German entered at the impressionable age of twenty. Such spectacles as bear-baiting still went on, although they were gradually being superseded by the drama. Society was crude even for that day, if judged by Western standards. The impressions Kotzebue received may have "lowered" his moral standards. At any rate they would have caused him to fall out of step with the bourgeoisie of the German cities. For Russian standards, if not "lower," were at least different. The spectacle in *Menschenhaß und Reue* of a husband taking back an unfaithful wife shocked the German conscience and has ever since been pointed out as a supreme example of "Kotzebuesche Immoralität." Was such a lapse due to the fact that the dramatist, by his prolonged absence in Russia, had accepted a different moral code?

To summarize: Because of the charges of insincerity levelled against Kotzebue by all his critics, even by his admirer Rabany,[73] one has been led to wonder whether the German playwright was capable of a sincere passion. The genuineness of his love for Russia has, therefore, been questioned. The evidence in his favor is, however, quite convincing. In a material way Russia had contributed largely to his success, for his stay in Russia and his contact with Russian sources were of indisputable importance for his work.[74] At least seven of his plays deal with Russian subjects: *Demetrius Zaar von Moscou* (1782); *Graf Beniowsky* (1794); *Der alte Leibkutscher Peter des Großen* (1799); *Die Zurückkunft des Vaters* (1801); *Der Russe in Deutschland* (1805); *Feodore*, and *Der Kosak und der Freiwillige* (1813 or

[72] Irving, *Astoria*, Bedford, Clark and Co., Chicago and New York (no date), 351.

[73] *Op. cit.*, 35.

[74] Kienzl, "Der erste deutsche Demetrius," in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Berlin, 1919, CLXXXI, 417 et seq.

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later). His works show possible influences from Catherine, Fonvizin, Karamzin, Derzhavin, and Ablesimov. They contain purely Slavonic words, sometimes without explanation. They display a knowledge of the Slavonic temperament, of Slavonic history, of Siberia, and even contain a suggestion concerning those scarcely voiced aspirations of Russia on the mainland of North America. Though hampered by pseudo-classicism and sentimentality, his plays show one fairly well-drawn Russian type. Kotzebue made three translations from the works of Catherine's poet-laureate under the titles: *Der Traum des Mursa*, *Felizens Bild*, and *Gedichte des Herrn Staatsrath von Derschawin* (both of the latter published at Leipzig, 1793).[75] He translated Sturdza's work on the Russian Orthodox Church from the French under the title, *Betrachtungen über die Lehre und Geist der orthodoxen Kirche*, Leipzig, 1817. In addition much information on economic conditions was contained in his *Kurze Übersicht der Manufakturen in Rußland*, Königsberg, 1816. For a time he edited the *Russisch-deutsches Volksblatt und Ergänzungsblatt*, Berlin, 1814. Moreover, Kotzebue chose, as we have seen, each of his three wives from Esthonia. Of his thirteen children, at least six of his sons entered the Russian service.[76] One of them, Otto (1787–1846), made three voyages

[75] Of the first of these I can find no mention in Rabany's exhaustive bibliography, nor in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, nor in Goedeke; but Grot mentions it in his works of Derschavin (*Sochineniya Derzhavina*, St.-P., 1868, IX, 512): "*Videniye Murzy, Der Traum des Mursa.* Aus dem Russischen des Herrn von Derschavin übersetzt von A. v. Kotzebue. St.-P. Gedruckt mit Bewilligung des Polizeiamts bei J. K. Schnoor, 1792 (8°), 15 pp." On the left side is the Russian text, and on the right is the German translation in blank verse. This is, as far as publication is concerned, chronologically the first translation from Derzhavin into a foreign language.

The omission in the bibliographies of western scholars is all the more remarkable in view of a statement by Prof. Frantsev, a distinguished Russian professor now lecturing at Prague: "It is possible that Czech readers became acquainted with the works of Derzhavin in the German translations of Kotzebue earlier than in the Russian original. Thus, for example, the *Videniye Murzy* was reprinted in the translation of Kotzebue in the book of G. Storch, *Gemälde von St. Petersburg* (Zweiter Teil, Riga, 1794, S. 233–242). A copy of this book is in the Czech Museum." Frantsev, *Derzhavin u Slavyan*, Praga, 1924, 26.

[76] Rabany, *op. cit.*, 138, lists "l'ainé" killed 1812; Otto; Maurice, a diplomat; and Wilhelm, an author. To these must be added Alexander (1805–89), a well-known painter of war scenes, and Paul (1801–84), a commander of the third, fourth, and fifth corps in the Crimean War.

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around the world,[77] all in the service of Russia. Finally, Kotzebue was undoubtedly speaking for himself when he puts these words in the mouth of Baron Wurm: "Ein' Russ'? Ich liebe die Nation. Ein braves Volk! mir wohl bekannt."[78]

[77] Kotzebue Sound and the town of Kotzebue in Alaska are named for him, while the family name of his mother, Christel de Krusenstern, second wife of our author, is preserved in Cape Krusenstern to the north.

[78] *Theater*, XXII, 60, *Der Russe in Deutschland.*

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE LUTHER BIBLE OF 1671

By D. B. SHUMWAY

(Concluded)*

Nouns

Among the nouns there are many interesting survivals of older forms, but it will be best to treat them under the rubrics of the original classes, arranging them in alphabetical order under each class. In the case of a change of class, which was quite frequent, they will be grouped according to their original classes in OHG. Words will be treated only when they present interesting or unusual forms.

Pure Masculine a-stems

Bund (MHG. *bunt*, plu. *bünde*) has one case of umlaut in the sing.: *dein Bünd* (Job 5, 2) otherwise the form is *Bund* (Gen. 6, 18, etc.).

Ahorn, originally of this class, developed a weak plural, e.g. *Ahörnen* (Sir. 24, 19).

Faden (OHG. *fadam*, *fadum*, MHG. *vadem*, *vaden*) is still declined according to this class, the plural being *Faden* (Jdg. 15, 14, etc.), the umlauted form which appears as early as the fourteenth century, not occurring. In no case does it end in *m*, though this form is found as late as the seventeenth century (Stieler).[29]

Fremdling, still of this class in MHG. has developed a weak plural: *die Frembdlingen* (Ex. 22, 21; 23, 8, etc.). It is a frequent word, occurring over 100 times in the Bible, the nom. sg. being *Frembdling* (Gen. 12, 10; 17, 18, etc.). It has also developed a curious form ending in *er*: *Frembdlinger* (Ex. 22, 28; Lev. 22, 13; Luke 17, 18), cf. below, p. 360, which is perhaps modelled on such proper names as *Thüringer*, *Westfälinger*, etc.[30]

* Cf. *Germanic Review*, V, 3, pp. 247–287.

[29] Heyne, *DWb.* I, 845.

[30] *DWb.* IV. I, 130.

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Hofmeister (MHG. *hovemeister*) frequently, this longer form as *Hofemeister* (Gen. 37, 36; 41, 10; 12; Is. 36, 22; 37, 2), but occurs also as *Hofmeister* (1 Kings 4, 6; Sir. 20, 4).

Igel (OHG. *igil*, MHG. *igel*) appears in one case as *Eigel* (Prov. 30, 15), but otherwise with *i* (Lev. 11, 30; Zeph. 2, 14, etc.). Although the form with *ei* occurs in this passage in the Bible of 1545, Grimm's dictionary does not mention it.

Nutz (OHG. *nuz*, *nuzzes*, MHG. plu. *nütze*) occurs only strong: *der Nutz* (Is. 27, 9) gen. *Umbs Nutzes willen* (Jude 5, 16); dat. *zu Nutz* (Prov. 28, 8; Ps. 104, 14), acc. *Nutz* (Sir. 7, 24; Eccl. 5, 9). The form *Nutzen* is not found.

Reif (OHG., MHG. *reif*, only strong, very few weak forms being found in early NHG.) occurs only in strong forms, e.g. acc., *einen Fingerreiff* (Luke 15, 22); dat., *an einem Reiffe* (1 Kings 7, 18); the plural is *Reiffe* (Ex. 27, 17).

Reiher (OHG. *reiger*, MHG. *reiger*) still exhibits the older and better form with *g*, found in L. and also in some modern dialects, e.g. Lev. 11, 18; Ps. 104, 17).

Ritz (MHG. *riz*, formed late as nomen actionis to the verb *ritzen;* still later is the fem. *die Ritze*, not till the fifteenth century; L. has only the masc.) shows only strong forms, nom. *der Ritz* (Mark 2, 21); acc. *Ritz* (Song 4, 3); *Steinritz* (Jer. 12, 4); plu. *Ritze* (Amos 6, 11).

Scharlach (MHG. *scharlach*, *scharlachen*, a corruption of MLF. *scharlat*, cf. Engl. *scarlet*, from OF. *escarlate*, MLat. *scarlatum*, probably from Persian *sakerlat*) occurs as *Scharlaken* (Bar. 6, 72), as in L., instead of the Upper German form *Scharlachen*.

Schlaf, Schläfe (MHG. *slāf*) has the older form *Schlaf* (Jdg. 4, 21; 5, 26), still used by Wieland.

Schmack (ONG., MNG. *smac*) is found frequently instead of *Geschmack*, e.g. Ex. 16, 31; Num. 11, 8; Wis. 16, 20, as L.

Straus (OHG. *strūz*, only str., MHG. *strūz*, str. and w.; L. has both str. and weak forms) shows weak plu. forms, e.g. *Straussen* (Job 30, 29; Is. 13, 21; Micah 1, 8).

Stuhl (OHG. *stuol*, plu. *stuola*) preserves the old diphthong in one case as *ue: Stuel* (Gen. 41, 40), otherwise it is written as now.

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Topf (not in OHG., but MHG. *topf*, plu. *topfe* and *töpfe;* L. uses a masc. *Topf* and a dialect form: das Töpfen)[31] exhibits both forms, e.g. nom.: *ein Töpfen* (Nahum 2, 10); dat.: *in dem Töpfen* (2 Kings 4, 40; 41); acc.: *ins Töpfen* (2 Kings 4, 39; 41; Jer. 1, 13; Ezek. 24, 3; Micah 3, 3); the masc. plu. occurs as *Töpffe* (1 Kings 7, 40); *Aschentöpffe* (Ezra 27, 3).

Thram or **Trahm** (a rare word meaning " beam "; MHG. *drām*, plu. *draeme*, str. masc. and also *drāme*, plu. *drāmen*, w.) [32] occurs once in the plural as *Tramen* (1 Kings 6, 6; L. thramen).

Pure Neuter a-stems

In many cases these still retain the old plural without ending.

Amt (OHG. *ambaht, ambahti*) has the plu. *die Amt* (Dan. 3, 12; 2 Chr. 9, 4; 23, 18), as in L., but also *Ämpter* (2 Kings 1, 18; 1 Chr. 27, 8; Sir. 7, 4).

Band (OHG. *bant*, plu. *bant* and *bantir;* L. *band* and *bande*) has mostly the plu. *Bande*, e.g. *Stirnbande* (Jdg. 8, 24; 25; 26; 15, 14), but also the plu. without ending, e.g. *die Haarband* (Is. 3, 26).

Brett (OHG. *bret*, plu. *bret* and *bretir*) usually exhibits the old plu. *Bret*, e.g. *sechs Bret* (Ex. 26, 22); *zwey Bret* (Ex. 26, 23); *der Bret acht* (Ex. 26, 30), but also *Breter* (Ex. 26, 15; 25). This *-er* plu. is generally written with one *t*, as still in Goethe's Faust, but also as *Bretter* (Acts 27, 44) where L. writes *Bret.*

Brot (plu. in the older language without ending) still has this form, as in L. e.g. *fünf Brot* (Matth. 14, 19); *die Brot* (Mark 6, 41).

Ding (plu. in the older language without ending) still exhibits this form in the majority of cases, e.g. *grosse Ding* (Sir. 3, 21); *alle Ding* (Matth. 11, 27; Eph. 1, 19). The gen. plu. is *aller Dinge* (Matth. 14, 19; Judith 9, 14); the plu. with *-er: Dinger* occurs Luke 21, 26, where L. already used it, although it does not become frequent till towards the end of the seventeenth century.[33]

Gemach (OHG. *gimah*, MHG. *gemach*, m. and n.). The plural had originally no ending and that is still the case in 1671: *die*

[31] Luther's forms are given in full by Kralik, *DWb.* XI, 828.
[32] *DWb.* II, 1332.
[33] *DWb.* II, 1153.

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Gemach (Ezek. 40, 7; 41, 5); gen. plu., *der Gemach* (1 Chr. 29, 11). The usage is here the same as in L., whereas Schottel gives the plu. as ending in *-er*.

Glied (older plu. *gelied* and *gelieder*, still in L.) shows both forms in 1671, e.g. *die Glied* (Ex. 28, 14; 22; 34, 7; Matth. 1, 17; 5, 29; 30), but *Glieder* (2 Mac. 7, 7; 1 Cor. 12, 12).

Haupt (OHG. *houbit*, no change in plu., MHG. *houbet* and *höubet;* plu. in L. *die heubt* (Rev. 9, 17), though usual plu. since MHG. was *Häupter*) writes the plu. *Häupter*, e.g. Rev. 9, 17, but a case of plu. as *Häupte* was noted Ezek. 7, 18, where L. already uses it.

Lager (OHG. *legar*, MHG. *leger*, later *läger; Lager* is MidG., introduced by Luther and has supplanted the older *Läger* since the seventeenth century). In 1671 *Lager* and *Läger* occur side by side in the plural, e.g. *Lager* (Num. 5, 3; 9, 25) 16 times, and *Läger* (Num. 2, 32) four times. Also the verb occurs in both forms, e.g. *belagert* (2 Kings 16, 5) 21 times and *belägert* (2 Kings 17, 5) 25 times.

Land (older plural *Land*, though Luther also has *Länder*) follows Luther's usage, writing: *alle Land* (1 Chr. 17, 23; Rev. 5, 6); dat. plu., *in allen Landen* (Gen. 47, 13; Ex. 9, 16), but *Länder* (Gen. 11, 4), dat. plu., *in allen Ländern* (Esther 9, 4). The plural *Lande* does not seem to occur before the seventeenth century.

Leib (OHG. *līp*, n. but becomes masc. already in OHG. The plural in the older language had no ending, but a plural in-*e* begins in late MHG. Luther has *leibe* (Matth. 27, 52), later only *Leiber*). The word is seldom found in the plural, but two cases were noted with the form *Leibe* (Hos. 9, 14, Matth. 27, 52), as in Luther. The form *Leiber* does not seem to be a survival of the old neuter form, but to have originated in the seventeenth century.[34]

Licht (OHG. *lioht*, MHG. *lieht*, written with *ie* down into the seventeenth century, though the form *Lichter* occurs earlier, e.g. in Hans Sachs). Luther always writes *ie*, but in our Bible of 1671 the diphthong has given way to *i*. The old plural *Liecht* is still found in the fifteenth and sixteenth

[34] *DWb.* VI, 581.

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centuries, but Luther wrote almost exclusively *Liechter*. Our version naturally uses the form *Lichter* (Ezek. 32, 8; Luke 12, 35; Phil. 2, 15).

Lohn (always neuter in Gothic, ON. and LG., mostly neut. in OHG., but also masc; plu. OHG. *lōna*, but MHG. *loene*, NHG. *Löhne*). L. uses both genders and our version follows him exactly: *das Lohn* (Gen. 30, 28; 1 Kings 5, 6); *groß Lohn* (Ps. 19, 12); *ums Lohn* (Is. 19, 10). On the other hand: *der Lohn* (Job 20, 29; Is. 17, 14; Rom. 4, 4; 2 Pet. 2, 13); *den Lohn* (Acts 1, 18; Rom. 1, 27); *keinen Lohn* (Matth. 6, 1); *seinen Lohn* (2 Chr. 15, 7); *vollen Lohn* (2 John 8). The usage seems quite evenly divided, though of course there are many instances in the oblique cases where the gender is not discernible. As is well known, an instance of the neuter occurs in Lessing's *Nathan*, 1078.

Ort (MHG. *ort*, plural *ort* and *örter* as neuter, *orte* and *örte* as masc.; both *ort* and *örter* are found in Luther) is found with both plurals, e.g. *an seine vier Ort* (Ex. 27, 4, also *gelegene Ort* (Deut. 19, 3); *alle Ort* (Deut. 12, 2), but also *Örter* (Deut. 11, 20).

Petschaft (MHG. *betschat* from Bohemian pečet) has the form *Pittschaft* (Hag. 2, 24), as in L. This was common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Ross (OHG. *hros*, MHG. *ros* and *ors;* plural in MHG. ros, early NHG. *roß*) has no less than three plurals in 1671: *die Roß* (1 Kings 22, 4, 11 times); *die Rosse* (2 Kings 7, 13; Zech. 6, 2; Rev. 9, 17, where Luther has *roß*, in all 14 times); *die Rösser* (Deut. 17, 16; 16, twice). The plural *Rosse* is probably influenced by the MHG. form *orse*.

Tal (OHG. plural *tal*, seldom *telir*, MHG. *tal* and *teler*) still has plural forms without ending, e.g. *alle Thal* (Is. 40, 4; Luke 3, 5); *die Thal* (Ezek. 32, 5), but also *die Thale* (Micha 1, 4), following Luther's usage in all cases, whereas Schottel gives the plural as ending in *-er*.

Tor (OHG., MHG. *tor*, plural in older German without ending) has still, as a rule the old ending, e.g. *die Tor* (Deut. 11, 20; 17, 2; Is. 3, 26), but one case of a plural in *-e: die Thore* occurs Micha 1, 4, following Luther's usage. Schottel gives the plural as ending in *-e*.

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Tier (OHG. *tior*, MHG. *tier*, plural, *die tier*, still in Luther, though *Tiere* has been common since the sixteenth century) has still the older plural, as in Luther, though Schottel gives only *Thiere*, e.g. *Thier* (Gen. 2, 19; Lev. 26, 22; Deut. 7, 22; Dan. 2, 38); gen. plu. *der Thiere* (Wis. 7, 20); *Thier* occurs as a collective: *über alles Thier, das auff Erden kreucht* (Gen. 1, 28).

Ungeziefer (goes back to OHG. *zebar*, but does not occur before late MHG. as *ungezibere, unziver;* in Luther it is found in the form *unziefer*, e.g. Ex. 8, 21 occurs in the 1671 version just as in Luther, e.g. *unziefer* (Ex. 8, 21; Deut. 28, 42).

Werk (older plural without ending; since seventeenth century *Werke*) still occurs, as in Luther without *-e*, e.g. *die Werck* (Deut. 11, 9; Rev. 3, 1; 8; 15; 9, 20; 14, 13; 16, 11), whereas Schottel gives the plural as ending in *-e*.

Wolke (OHG. *wolkan*, neut., plural without ending; it becomes fem. in late OHG. *wolcha*, plu. *wolchūn*, MHG. *diu wolke*, plu. *wolken*), still retains in part its neuter form, e.g. *ein finster Wolcken* (Ex. 14, 20), but also fem. e.g. *eine Wolcke* (Acts 1, 9). A compromise form, *eine Wolcken*, is found Luke 9, 34; in all these cases the Bible of 1671 follows Luther's usage.

Neuter ja-Stems

Beere (OHG. *beri*, Goth. *basi*, neuter till MHG., when a fem. developed from the neuter plural: *diu ber;* in Luther and down into the seventeenth century the plural remains *die beer*) is found mostly with the old plural *Beer*, e.g. (Gen. 40, 11; Lev. 19, 10; Num. 6, 3; Is. 17, 6; Rev. 14, 18). One case of the plural as *bittere Beere* (Deut. 32, 32), where Luther still has *Beer*.

Bett (OHG. *beti* and *betti*, Goth. *badi*, still has the final *e* in the nom. and acc., e.g. *das Bette* (Is. 28, 20); acc., *mein Bette* (Gen. 49, 4; 1 Chr. 6, 1); acc., *sein Bette* (1 Kings 21, 4; 17, 9; 2 Kings 4, 21); acc., *dein Bette* (2 Sam. 13, 5).

Bild (OHG. *bilidi*, MHG. *bilede*, still often with final *e* in sixteenth century, e.g. Luther, *bilde*, 1 Cor. 11, 7) generally has the longer form *Bilde* in the sing., as in Luther, e.g. *ein Bilde* (Deut. 4, 16) 17 times, but also *Bild* (Deut. 9, 12; Wis.

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14, 19; 1 Cor. 11, 7). The plural ends in *-e*, e.g. *Weibsbilde* (Num. 30, 4; 31, 18), but one case of the gen. plu. *der Weibsbildern* (Num. 31, 35) being noted.

Gefäß (OHG. *givāzi*, plu. *givāzi*, MHG. *gevaeze*) still has the final *e* in the sing. *Gefäße* (2 Kings 4, 6; John 19, 29) five times. In the plural the usage is divided: *Gefäß* (2 Kings 4, 4; Is. 22, 24) eleven times, but *Gefäße* 13 times.

Armut (OHG. *aramuoti*, MHG. in double form: *armuot*, neut. and *Armuot*, fem.) still varies as in Luther and MHG. between neuter and fem.: e.g. *die Armuth* (1 Chr. 23, 14; Sir. 4, 2; 2 Cor. 8, 9; Rev. 2, 9); *das Armuth* (Prov. 6, 11; 10, 15; 13, 7); *Armuths gnug* (Prov. 28, 19; further Tob. 5, 27; Mk. 12, 44; Luke 21, 4); the Bible of 1671 follows here exactly the usage of Luther.[35]

Geschichte (OHG. *gisciht*, n. and f.) still retains in part the old neuter form, as in Luther: *das Geschichte* (Acts 13, 12; 2 Sam. 2, 1; Tob. 14, 1, etc.), the plural is *die Geschicht* (Neh. 1, 1); the fem. also occurs as *die Geschicht* (Mk. 1, 45), following Luther.

Geschlecht (OHG. *gislahti*, MHG. *geslehte*, plu. *geslechte*) still has in one case the final *e* of the nom. sing.: *ein Geschlechte* (Zech. 12, 12), but in the very same verse three instances of *das Geschlecht* occur. The plural is still formed with *e*: *die Geschlechte* (Gen. 11, 10; 27; Job 8, 8; Jer. 31, 1; Amos 3, 1; 2; Rev. 14, 6); dat. plu., *Geschlechten* (Gen. 10, 5; 20, 31; 32); sometimes, however, *e* is not used in the plural, e.g. *die Geschlecht* (Jer. 10, 25; Rev. 1, 7; 13, 7).

Stück (OHG. *stucchi*, *stucki*, plural the same, MHG. *stücke*) has no longer the final *e* of the sing. e.g. *Stück* (1 Macc. 12, 37). Just as in Luther, the plural sometimes has no *e*, e.g. *zwei Stück* (Neh. 3, 19; 2 Kings 2, 12); *drei Stück* (Sir. 25, 3); *solche böse Stück* (Deut. 19, 20; Mk. 7, 23); at other times *e* is found, e.g. *solche Stücke* (1 Macc. 8, 26); *etliche Stücke* (Tob. 6, 7).

Tenne (originally a *-ja* neuter, OHG. *tenni*, *denni;* MHG. *tenne*, of all three genders and both strong and weak; in NHG. fem., though masc. and neut. in dial.) follows Luther's usage

[35] See *DWb.* I, 561.

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exactly; the plural is *Tennen* (Hos. 9, 1; Joel 2, 24; 1 Sam. 23, 1); the acc. sing. occurs as *Tenne* (Matth. 3, 2); the dat. sing., as *von deiner Tennen* (Deut. 15, 14).

Masculine ja-Stems

Scherbe (OHG. *skirbi*, MHG. *scherbe*, originally masc. and fem.) still occurs in both genders, e.g. a weak masc. nom. occurs as *der Scherben* (Prov. 26, 23; Is. 45, 9); a weak fem. is found: *er nam eine Scherben* (Job 2, 8); a strong acc. fem. *eine Scherbe* (Is. 30, 14).

Masculine wa-Stems

Schatten (OHG. *scato*, *scatewes*, MHG. *schate*, st. and w; *n* enters the nom. at the close of the MHG. and the beginning of the NHG. period. In Luther's Bible *schatte* and *schatten* are found equally. The form *Schatte* is still found in Herder and Jean Paul. Luther writes also *eine Schatte* (Ps. 144, 4; Is. 25, 4). The *w* of the oblique cases enters the nom. and forms MHG. *scatewe* and *scatwe*. L. uses in his writings *schadwe* (Weim. Aus. I. 195, 24 in 1517; also: *ein finster schadwen* (8. 17. 8 in 1521).[36] It has both forms in the Bible of 1671, e.g. *Schatte* (Ps. 109, 23; 144, 4, where L. has a fem.; Eccl. 8, 13; Wis. 2, 5; 5, 9; Acts 5, 15); *Schatten* (Ps. 102, 12; 121, 5; Is. 25, 4, where L. has *Schatte;* Is. 32, 2); acc. is Schatten, e.g. Heb. 10, 1.

Feminine ō-Stems

Aue (OHG. *ouwa*, MHG. *ouwe*, Luther writes *awe*) originally strong, is declined weak and strong: nom. *Aue* (Jer. 6, 2); weak dat. sing., *Auen* (Ps. 23, 2); strong dat. sing., *in einer weiten Aue* (L. *awe*, Is. 30, 23; Zech. 1, 8).

Fahr (OHG. *fāra*, st. fem. MHG. *vāre*, especially in Gottfried; most MHG. poets use *vār* as masc., gen. *vāres*, especially in Parzival. *Fahr*, which is still used by Luther and others in the sixteenth century, gradually gives way to *Gefahr*) is still frequently used in 1671 in the meaning of the collective *Gefahr*, e.g. *und hat keine Fahr* (1 Sam. 20, 21; Sir. 3, 21; 13, 8; 2 Mac. 15, 1; Luke 8, 23, etc.).

[36] *DWb.* VIII, 2231.

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Gabe (MHG. *gābe*, not found in OHG.) the sing. is usually strong, e.g. acc. sing. *die Gabe* (Joh. 4, 10), but a weak gen. sing., *einer Gaben*, occurs 1 Cor. 1, 7; the plural is *Gaben*, e.g. Heb. 10, 5, as today.

Gemeinde [OHG. *gimeinida*, MHG. *gemeinde*, Nebenform is *Gemeine*, OHG. *gimeini*, MHG. *gemeine*. Luther prefers *gemein(e)*] has only the form without *d* in 1671 (Ex. 35, 1; 4, 20; Prov. 21, 16; Matth. 16, 18).

Glucke (MHG. *klucke;* probably an onomatopoetic word) occurs once in the meaning of a constellation (1 Job 9, 9).

Grube (OHG. *gruoba*, MHG. *gruobe*, mostly strong, but also weak) is confused in its declension in 1671, e.g. acc. *eine Gruben* (Ex. 21, 33; Prov. 26, 27; Matth. 12, 11; 15, 14, etc.), 16 cases, but strong *eine Grube* (Ex. 21, 33; Ps. 49, 10; 57, 7; 87, 7; Prov. 1, 12; Matth. 25, 18).

Insel (loan word from Latin *insula*, OHG. *īsila*, MHG. *īsele*, through the influence of Italian *isola;* not till later under the influence of Latin again do we have MHG. *insule*, *insele*, *insel*, *insul* lasts in older German to the eighteenth century) follows the usage of Luther and is found only in the form *Insul*, plu. *Insulen* (Ps. 72, 10; 97, 1; Acts 13, 6; 27, 16; 28, 1; 7; 11).

Kuh (OHG. *kuo*, MHG. *kuo*, plu. *kuo* and *kuoe*, but also according to the *i*-declension, OHG. *kuoi*, MHG. *küeje*, sixteenth century *küe*) is written sometimes with the diphthong *ue* from MHG. *uo*, e.g. *eine Kue* (Gen. 15, 9) or with an *h*, as *Kuhe* (Lev. 3, 1), but also *Kuh* (Num. 19, 2; 5; 6; 10; Deut. 21, 3; 6, Heb. 9, 13); the plural is formed as now: *Kühe* (Gen. 41, 2; 3; 4), where Luther in 1545 writes *Küe*.

Lade (MHG. *lade* both strong and weak, not found in OHG.) occurs with both strong and weak forms: strong acc., *in die Lade* (Gen. 50, 26; Ex. 25, 16; 21; 37, 1; 40, 3) 58 times, weak acc. sing., *die Laden* (Joshua 3, 14; 17; 1 Chr. 16, 27; 2 Mac. 2, 4; 5) five times; weak dat. *an der Laden* (Ex. 25, 14; 30, 6, etc.) 15 times; strong dat. *Lade* (Joshua 4, 7, etc.) nine times.

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Leber (originally strong, OHG. *lebera*, MHG. *lebere*, partly weak, a condition which still persists in Luther) occurs in 1671 with both strong and weak forms: a weak dat., *von der Lebern* (Tob. 8, 2); a weak acc., *die Lebern* (Tob. 6, 6), but strong, *die Leber* (Prov. 7, 23), where Luther writes *lebbern*.

Leinwand (a corruption of OHG., MHG. *līnwāt*, form which lasted as *leinwat*, *leinwad*, *linwad* down to seventeenth century; originally a strong fem., but masc. and neuter forms are also found. Luther uses mostly *linwad*, more rarely *linwand*) is found in both forms in 1671: *Leinwad* (Ex. 39, 28; 2 Chr. 5, 12; Ezek. 9, 2; 3, 11; 10, 2; 6; 7; 15, 13; Matth. 27, 59; Luke 16, 19; 23, 53); also the LG. form *Linwad*, which Luther uses occurs twice (Dan. 10, 5; Rev. 15, 16); the modern form *Leinwand* also occurs (Mk. 14, 52).

Mauer (from Latin, OHG. *mūra*, st. f., and *mūrī*, MHG. *mūre*, both st. and w.; Luther uses the form *mawr*, Lev. 25, 31, plu. *mawren*, Joshua 6, 5; Jer. 2, 7) has mostly weak forms in the sing., e.g. dat sing., *Mauren* (Joshua 2, 15; 2 Sam. 11, 20; 18, 22; 1 Kings 21, 23; 2 Kings 3, 27; 6, 26; 30; Ezek. 42, 7, etc.), one case of strong dat., *an einer hohen Maure* (Is. 30, 13), being noted.

Metze (*Koseform* for *Mechtild*, earliest case eleventh century, both strong and weak in MHG: and also in Luther) occurs weak in the acc. sing., *eine Metzen oder zwo nehmen* (Jdg. 5, 30), as in Luther; a nom. is found, as *eine Metze* (Bar. 6, 8).

Niederwad (MHG. *niderwāt*, Luther *niderwad*, and in this form frequent to seventeenth century) occurs only once (Sir. 45, 10) and has the meaning *Niederkleid;* in two cases where Luther uses *niderwad* the Bible of 1671 substitutes *Niederwand* (Lev. 6, 10; 16, 4).

Perle (OHG. *perala*, *perula*, from MLat. *perula*, MHG. *berle; p* is used in Luther's Bible, except Job 28, 18 where he writes *berlen*) occurs with a weak dat. sing., *von einer Perlen* (Rev. 21, 21); the plural is *Perlen*, as today (Prov. 31, 10; Matth. 7, 6).

Sache (OHG. *sahha*, MHG. *sache*, st.; weak forms appear in fifteenth and continue into the sixteenth century, e.g. in Luther) occurs both strong and weak, following Luther's

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usage, e.g. w. dat., *zu dieser Sachen* (2 Sam. 24, 3; 2 Chr. 20, 17), but st., *von meiner Sache* (Job 31, 35; Ps. 35, 23); the str. acc. occurs (Jdg. 12, 2; 15, 3).

Salbe (OHG. *salba*, mostly strong, MHG. *salbe* only weak; weak forms in sing. are common in the sixteenth century; *n* also enters the nom.) occurs only weak, gen., *der Salben* (Prov. 27, 9; John 12, 3); dat, *zur Salben* (Ex. 35, 8; Luke 35, 8); acc., *Salben* (Jer. 51, 8); nom., *eine Salbe* (Ex. 30, 31).

Salse (from Ital. *salsa*, MHG. *salse;* the modern form with *z* is due to analogy with *Salz*), meaning " sauce," still retains the older *s: mit bitter Salsen* (Ex. 12, 8), whereas the modern version writes *Salzen.*

Schale (OHG. *scāla*, MHG. *schale*, st. and w. fem.) has both weak and strong forms, e.g., *und füllet eine Schale* (Jdg. 6, 38); weak dat., *in einer Schalen* (Jdg. 5, 25; Zech. 4, 2; 3).

Scheide (OHG. *sceida*, MHG. *scheide*, str. f., later develops weak forms, e.g., in Luther: *aus der scheiden*, Ezek. 21, 4) is declined both strong and weak, following Luther's usage, e.g. gen. and dat weak: *das Heft der Scheiden* (Jdg. 3, 22); *ausz der Scheiden* (1 Sam. 17, 51; 2 Sam. 20, 8); but str. acc., *in deine Scheide* (Jer. 47, 6; John 18, 11).

Zehe (OHG. *zēha*, MHG. *zehe*, dialectally also masc., e.g. Luther: *auff den grossen Zehe*, (Ex. 29, 20) is masc. in 1671, following Luther, e.g. *auf den grossen Zehe* (Ex. 29, 20; Lev. 8, 23; 24; 14, 14; 17; 25; 28). The plural *Zäe* occurs Dan. 2, 41; 42.

Feminine jō-Stems

Hölle (OHG. *hella*, MHG. *helle*, the *e* still predominating in the sixteenth century; it was originally strong, but by the sixteenth century it had become predominantly weak; Luther still writes *e*, e.g. *in die hell*, Deut. 32, 22, but *ö* is used exclusively in 1671) is quite confused in its declension, the oblique cases being both strong and weak, e.g. str. dat., *bey der Hölle* (Ps. 88, 4; 141, 7; Acts 2, 27, etc.), but weak, *zur Höllen* (Prov. 7, 27, etc.) 13 times; w. gen., *der Höllen Gewalt* (Ps. 49, 16); str. gen., *die Schlüssel der Hölle* (Rev. 1, 18); the nom. and acc. forms are *Hölle* (e.g. Nom. John 11, 8, acc. Job 7, 9; Deut. 32, 22; Prov. 28, 17; Matth. 5, 29; 11, 23, etc.).

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Hure (OHG. *huora* < huorja, MHG. *huore*, originally strong, occurs only weak in Luther's Bible, e.g. *das Urteil der grozen Huren* (Rev. 17, 2). It is weak in 1671, e.g. dat. sing., *zur Huren* (Is. 1, 21; 1 Cor. 6, 16), gen. as above (Rev. 17, 2).

Hütte (OHG. *hutta* < *huttja*, MHG. *hütte*, originally strong becomes weak in part) has weak forms in the oblique cases, e.g. gen. sing., *der Hütten* (Gen. 18, 1; Ex. 33, 9), dat. sing., *der Hütten* (Gen. 18, 1; Ex. 33, 8; Ps. 61, 5, etc.); the nom. is always *Hütte* (Is. 38, 12; Sir. 34, 19); the acc. occurs both strong and weak: *eine Hütten* (Ex. 18, 7; 33, 7; Acts 7, 46, etc.), but strong as *Hütte* (Acts 15, 16; Lev. 6, 30).

Kette (from Latin *catena*, OHG. d. sg. *ketinu*, w. acc. plu. ketinūn, like *kunigin* [37] MHG. *ketene;* in older German the old declension still survives, e.g. in Luther and as late as Schuppius *n* is found in the nom.) [38] in our version follows Luther's example in the two cases of the sing. noted: Nom., *eine Ketten* (Prov. 1, 9) and acc., *hieng ihm ein gulden ketten an seinen hals* (Gen. 41, 42). It occurs frequently in the plural, e.g. *an Ketten* (Acts 12, 6; Num. 31, 50, etc.).

Krippe (orig. *jō*-stem, but also weak in OHG., MHG. *krippe*, both strong and weak. Luther has as nom., *die krippen*, Prov. 14, 4, but also acc. *die krippe*, Is. 1, 3) follows Luther's usage in the two cases mentioned. Weak dat. sing. with *n* was noted (John 39, 12; Luke 2, 12; 16); also a weak acc. sing.: *leget ihn in eine Krippen* (Luke 2, 7).

Küche (OHG. *chūchīna* < L. *coquina*, MHG. *küchen*, *küche*, also with *-in;* the best MHG. form is *küchen*, which lasts till the eighteenth century in the dat.[39] and still diallectally in Thuringia and elsewhere as *kuchen* in the nom.) fails to follow Luther, who always uses *n* in the nom., but has dropped it, e.g. *die Küche* (Ezek. 46, 24).

Sünde (OHG. *suntea*, *sunte*, *sunta*, MHG. *sünte*, only strong; the strong plural still persists in part in the sixteenth century, e.g. L.: *ihre sünde sind fast schwer*, Gen. 18, 20) shows the same divided usage as in Luther. Strong plural forms still

[37] See Braune. *Ahd. Gr.* § 211, An 3, c.
[38] See *DWb.* V, 630.
[39] *Ibid.*, 2491.

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occur: Gen. 18, 20; *deine Sünde sind* (Matth. 9, 2; 5; 6; Hos. 10, 10; Rev. 18, 5); weak plural forms: *Vergebung der Sünden* (Acts 10, 43; Matth. 26, 28; Rev. 18, 4); weak gen. sing.: *der Sünden Knecht* (John 8, 34); *der Sünden Sold* (Rom. 6, 23); strong dat.: *von Sünde bekehren* (Ezek. 33, 14, etc.), all as in Luther.

Feminine abstracts in ī

Armut (OHG. fem. *aramuotī;* MHG. f. *armuot* and neut. *armuote* are about equally divided; occasionally a masc. is found; in older NHG. the gender still wavers) fluctuates, as in Luther, between fem. and neut.: *die Armuth* (1 Chr. 23, 14; Sir. 4, 2; 2; 2 Cor. 8, 9; Rev. 2, 9), but *das Armuth* (Prov. 6, 11; 10, 15; 13, 7), *Armuths gnug* (Prov. 28, 19; further Tob. 5, 27; Mk. 12, 44; Luke 21, 4); the Bible of 1671 follows here exactly the usage of Luther (See *DWb.* I, 561).

Tiefe (OHG. *tiufī*, MHG. *tiefe* and *tiufe* which became *Teufe*, used now only in mining) occurs both strong and weak in 1671; strong forms: nom. *Tiefe* (Eph. 3, 18); acc. *Tiefe* (Ps. 88, 7; 1 Cor. 2, 10; Luke 8, 31); dat. *Tiefe* (Ps. 68, 23; Is. 44, 27); plu.: *da die Tiefe noch nicht waren* (Prov. 8, 24), but weak dat. *aus der Tiefen* (Ps. 130, 1); dat. plu. *Tieffen* (Ps. 135, 6).

Widerwertige is still used as noun (1 Sam. 1, 6) instead of *Widerwärtigkeit.*

Wüste (OHG. *wuostī*, but also found with the suffix *-innjō*, like *künigin*, as *wuostin*, MHG. *wüeste*, stf.) has mostly weak forms in the oblique cases: dat. *in der Wüsten* (Num. 1, 1; Gen. 21, 4; Ex. 8, 28; Ps. 78, 40, etc.), at least 57 cases; *zur Wüsten* (Jer. 51, 43); acc. sing.: *in die Wüsten* (Ex. 18, 5; 19, 2; Ps. 29, 8; Matth. 4, 1; 11, 7; Mark 6, 31; Luke 9, 10), 25 cases; a few cases of strong forms were noted: *durch die Wüste* (Ex. 13, 18; Lev. 16, 22; Num. 12, 15); also a nom. sing. *die Wüsten* (Is. 35, 1); the plural is *die Wüsten* (Is. 51, 3).

Masculine i-Stems

Huf (OHG. *huof*, MHG. *huof.*, plu. *hüeve*) still retains the old plu. *Hüffe* (Is. 5, 28).

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Turm (from Lat. *turris*, OHG. as *turri* and *turra*, but OLfrk. Ps. as *turn*, probably under Romance influence; MHG. *turm* and *turn*, the m-form appearing first in the dat. in MHG. as *turme;* the n-form lasts till well into the eighteenth century. Goethe still using it; Luther writes both forms) does not follow Luther's usage but writes *n* everywhere: *Thurn* (Song 4, 3; 7, 4; Luke 14, 28); *Thürne* (Is. 2, 15; 2 Macc. 10, 18).

Wurm (OHG. *wurm*, plu. *wurmi*, MHG. *würme*, still in Goethe's *Faust*, though the plural in *-er* is found in the seventeenth century) appears as masc.: *einen Wurm* (Jonah 4, 7); the plural is always *Würme* (Job 17, 14; 21, 26; Is. 14, 11, etc.); dat. plu. *von den Würmen* (Acts 12, 23).

Feminine i-Stems

Affterburt occurs Deut. 28, 57, where L. uses the older *afterbürde.*

Hüfte (OHG. *huf*, gen. *huffi*, MHG. still *hüffe* in gen. sing. and plu. To this form was added a *t*, probably in the fifteenth century; our present form *Hüfte* comes from the plural *Hüfte*) is used both strong and weak: gen. sing. *Hüffte* (Gen. 32, 25) acc. sing. *Hüffte* (Gen. 24, 3) and *Hüfft* (Jdg. 13, 6), but dat. sing. *Hüfften* (Song 3, 8; Rev. 19, 16); acc. plu. *die Hüfften* (Ex. 28, 42).

Kluft (MHG. *kluft*) has two plural forms: *Klüfte* (Is. 2, 19; 7, 19) and *Klüften* (1 Sam. 13, 6; Jdg. 6, 2).

Leiche (OHG. dat. *līhhi*, plu. *līhhi*, MHG. *līch;* weak forms begin to appear in early MHG. The strong declension continues on down through Luther, although weak forms are also found) has a strong dat. *Leiche* (Gen. 23, 3), also strong plural *Leiche* (Ezek. 43, 7; 9). On the other hand weak forms are just as frequent, e.g. a nom. sing. *Leiche* (Is. 14, 19); acc. plu. *die Leichen* (Tob. 12, 12) and a gen. plu. *der Leichen* (Jer. 31, 40); the weak dat. sing. is still found in Goethe's Faust.

Säule (OHG. *sūl*, gen. sing. and plu. *sūli;* MHG. *sūl*, plu. *siule;* the unumlauted sing. *saul* is still found dialectally, but no longer in Luther) is still written *eu*, as in Luther, the declension otherwise being like the present norm, e.g. acc. sing. *eine Seule* (2 Sam. 18, 18); plu. *Seulen* (Lev. 26, 1; Job 26, 11; Ps. 75, 4).

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Stätte (originally the oblique case of OHG. *stat*, str. f.; it is still strong in Luther, who writes it *stet* or *stete* indifferently, though the shorter form is mostly in the O.T.) is still strong, but is written *Stätt* or *Stätte*, thus: *an heiliger Stätt* (Lev. 6, 26), *an diese Stäte* (1 Kings 8, 29); *an ihrer Stätte* (2 Chr. 35, 10; Ps. 37, 10); nom. sing. *die Stätte* (Deut. 12, 21; Josh. 5, 15; John 4, 20; Acts 4, 31); *die Stätt* (Is. 66, 1); *ihre Stette* (Rev. 12, 8); acc. sing. *an die Stätt* (Gen. 13, 3; 22, 9; Num. 10, 29); *eine Stäte bauen* (2 Kings 6, 2; John 14, 2); *Stäte* (Ps. 26, 8); *Städte* (Deut. 1, 33); gen. sing. *Stätte* (2 Macc. 5, 19); plu. *Stätt* (Matth. 12, 43; Luke 11, 24); *alle Stätt* (Josh. 1, 3); *Städte* (Num. 32, 1). The first case of a weak plural is found in Möser, in the eighteenth century.[40]

Masculine n-Stems

Adler (from *adelar*, a compound of OHG. *aro*, w. masc., gen. sing. and plu. in the older language *aaren*, MHG. *adeler* which form still persists in the sixteenth century as *adelar*, e.g. in B. Waldis) has only strong forms, as in Luther, except that L. wrote it as *adeler*, e.g. *des Adlers* (Prov. 30, 19); plu. *die Adler* (Matth. 24, 28).

Besen (OHG. *besamo*, MHG. *beseme*, this older form still in Goethe: *mit Besemen gekehrt*, but as a quotation from the Bible; the form with *n* occurs as early as the fifteenth century in MidG.) is in every respect like the modern usage, e.g. *mit einem Besen* (Is. 14, 23), with the exception of the dat. plu. *Besemen* (Luke 11, 25).

Bogen (OHG. *bogo*, MHG. *boge*) still has the older nom. *Boge* (Gen. 9, 16; 1 Sam. 2, 4; 2 Sam. 1, 22), but also the new form *Bogen* (Job 29, 20) and gen. *des Bogens* (Ps. 76, 4, already in L.); acc. *Bogen* (Gen. 27, 3; 1 Kings 22, 34; 2 Kings 9, 24).

Bote (OHG. *boto*, MHG. *bote*) is consistently weak, just as today, e.g. *ein Bote* (Prov. 25, 13; Is. 42, 19); *eines guten Boten* (Nahum 1, 15); plu. *Boten* (Luke 7, 24; Gen. 32, 3).

Brunnen (originally weak, OHG. *prunno;* the strong form appears in the sixteenth century and lasts into the seventeenth and still poetically today; in the eighteenth century *n* was

[40] *DWb.* X, 1007.

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introduced into the nom.) [41] exhibits both strong and weak forms side by side, e.g. *der Brunn* (Gen. 16, 14; Num. 21, 18; Sir. 1, 5; John 4, 11; 14); dat. *Brunn* (Gen. 34, 11; 42, 23 times); acc. *Brunn* (Gen. 21, 19; 30; 26, 19; 20; 21); plu. *die Brunne* (Gen. 8, 2); *Brünne* (Gen. 26, 15; Lev. 11, 36; 2 Chr. 32, 4; Neh. 9, 25), but weak dat. sing. *Brunnen* (Gen. 24, 16; Ex. 2, 15; Prov. 5, 15, 6 times); gen. *Brunnen* (Is. 51, 1); acc. *Brunnen* (Gen. 16, 14; John 4, 12); a mixed gen. *Wasserbrunnens* (Gen. 21, 25; 29, 10), where L. has no *s*; plu. *Brunnen* (2 Chr. 26, 10) where L. uses *brünnen*.

Farre or **Farr** (OHG. mostly strong: *far, farres*, plu. *farri*, only seldom weak: *farro*, MHG. both strong and weak) has the short form *Farr* in nom. sg., e.g. Jdg. 6, 25; the acc. is always *Farren* (Jdg. 6, 25).

Fels (strong form predominates in OHG.: *felis*, gen. *felises*, plu. *felisā*, MHG. usually *fels* in nom. sg., but oblique cases *Felsen*) is declined mostly strong, e.g. gen. *Felses* (2 Chr. 28, 12); dat. sg. *Fels* (Ex. 17, 6; Num. 20, 8; Jdg. 6, 21); acc. *Fels* (Num. 20, 10; Job 19, 24; Matth. 27, 60), but occasionally weak forms occur, e.g. gen. sg. *dieses Felsen* (Jdg. 6, 26); dat. sg. *Felsen* (Deut. 8, 15; Ps. 81, 17). The plural is generally weak, but the plural *die Fels* (Job 28, 9) occurs once (already in L.).

Fleck (OHG. both strong and weak: *fleck*, gen. *fleckes* and *fleccho, flecchin* MHG. *vlec, vleckes* and *vlecke, vlecken*) a strong nom.: *ein Fleck* occurs Lev. 13, 57, a weak nom.: *ein Flecke* is found Wis. 13, 14, as in L. The plural is *Flecken* (Jer. 13, 23).

Fremdling [42] (MHG. *vremedelinc*, str.) occurs with strong and weak forms side by side: str. plu. *Frembdlinge* (Eph. 2, 19), weak *die Fremdlingen* (Ex. 22, 21; 23, 9). The nom. sg. is usually *Frembdling*, but a curious form *Frembdlinger*, as noted above, is found at times.

Garten (OHG. *garto*, MHG. *garte*, weak) has usually the older weak nom. *Garte* (Song 4, 13; Is. 1, 30, etc.), eight times, but occasionally, as in L., *ein Garten* (2 Kings 9, 27; Esther 1, 5);

[41] *DWb.* II, 431.

[42] See above, p. 345.

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acc. *Garten* (Is. 51, 3). L. has the older plural without umlaut, but our edition has introduced the umlaut: *Gärten* (Is. 51, 3; Num. 24, 6).

Hefe (OHG. *heffo* and *hevo*, masc. MHG. *heffe* and *heve*, masc. and fem.) is still weak masc., as in L., though *n* has been introduced into the nom.: *darin kein Hefen ist* (Is. 25, 6); acc. plu. *Hefen* (Ps. 75, 9; Is. 51, 17); dat. plu. *Hefen* (Jer. 48, 11; Zeph. 1, 12).

Kasten (OHG. *chasto*, MHG. *kaste*, weak) has the old weak nom. *Kaste* (Gen. 7, 18; 8, 4), as in L.; the dat. sg. is *Kasten* (Gen. 7, 23; 8, 1; 10; 19), acc. sg. *Kasten* (Gen. 6, 14; 18; 7, 1; 7; 9; 13; 17).

Knochen (MidG. word still rare in MHG. as *knoche*) occurs but three times in the Bible, as L. used mostly *bein* or *gebein;* [43] the forms in 1671 agree with those of L.: *seine Knochen* (Job 40, 13; 2 Kings 23, 16); *Menschenknochen* (2 Kings 23, 14).

Kuchen (OHG. *chuocho*, MHG. *kuoche*) still retains the old weak nom., as in L. *Kuche* (Hos. 7, 8); the acc. sg. is *Kuchen* (Lev. 7, 12; 13; 8, 26); plu. *Kuchen* (Ex. 12, 39).

Leim (OHG. *leimo*, weak, but also *leim*, str., still used in Upper German, but replaced in the literary language in the eighteenth century by *Lehm*) is still weak, as in L. e.g. acc. sg. *allen Leimen* (Lev. 14, 45); *Leymen* (Is. 41, 25; Nahum 3, 14); dat. sg. *aus Leimen* (Job 10, 4).

Lenz (OHG. *lenzo*, MHG. *lenze*, weak) [44] is weak in dat. sg. *im Lenzen* (Sir. 24, 35); the nom. occurs as *der Lenz* (Song 2, 12), which may or may not be weak; L. uses it some times strong in his writings, e.g. *im Lenz* (4, 42).

Mond (OHG. *māno*, MHG. *māne*, weak; *ā* > *ō* in fourteenth century) is found always with final *d*, though L. writes it without, e.g. *des mons schein* (Is. 30, 26), where our version has *des Mond Schein*, the gen. *s* being assimilated and dropping out. In our edition weak and strong forms exist side by side, e.g. str. gen. *des Monds* (Ex. 34, 18; Josh. 5, 10; Bar. 1, 2; 8), weak gen. *des Monden* (Gen. 8, 13; Ex. 12, 18; 16, 1; Num. 3, 15; 29, 1); *des Neumonden* (1 Sam. 20, 27; 34) 53 times; str. dat. *in diesem Mond* (Ex. 13, 5; 34, 18; Sir. 43,

[43] *DWb.* V, 1454.

[44] For still earlier forms, see *DWb.* VI, 753.

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7; Luke 1, 36); weak dat. *im Neumonden* (Ps. 81, 4, etc. 36 times); acc. sg. weak *Monden* (Ps. 104, 19; Num. 11, 20, etc. 6 times); str. acc. sg. *einen Mond* (Deut. 21, 13; Ps. 136, 9; 1 Kings 4, 7; Job 31, 26, usually in the sense of month).

Nacken (OHG. *nach*, plu. *nachā*, str., but OS. weak *nacco;* MHG. *nac*, str. and *nacke*, weak; NHG. *nack* and *nacke* till sixteenth century, at which time *n* enters the nom. L. writes both *Nack* and *nacke* in the nom.) [45] has always the old weak nom. without *n*: *Nacke* (2 Kings 17, 14; Is. 48, 4; here L. has *nack);* dat. sg. is *Nacken* (Bar. 2, 33).

Pfau (OHG. *pfāwo*, MHG. *pfāwe*, weak, though strong forms appear in eighteenth century) has the usual weak forms, e.g. *des Pfauen* (Job 39, 13), where L. writes *pfawen.*

Same (OHG. *sāmo*; MHG. *sāme*, weak; *n* enters the nom. in the fifteenth century, though *Same* has lasted to the present time by the side of *Samen;* in the sixteenth and seventeenth century we find the shortened form *Sam* in the nom.) [46] shows a confusion of forms, as in L. e.g. nom. *Same* (Is. 48, 19; Luke 8, 11); *Samen* (Lev. 15, 16); gen. *des Samen* (Num. 16, 40), but mixed *des Samens* (Deut. 31, 21).

Schaden (OHG. *skado*, MHG. *schade*, weak, but *e* dropped in Upper German; the umlaut in the plural is found first in the fourteenth century; rare is the strong declension: *was schades*, as in Kaisersberg) [47] still preserves the old nom. *Schade* (Ex. 21, 22; 1 Kings 11, 25; Ps. 141, 14; Jer. 30, 12; 1 Mac. 5, 50; Rom. 11, 12). In the expression *Schade um Schade* (Lev. 24, 20) a strong acc. is found, but otherwise the acc. is always weak: *Schaden* (Ps. 38, 13, Prov. 12, 12, etc.). The nom. is found with *n* in a few cases already in L.: *Schaden* (Ex. 21, 23; Is. 59, 7; 32, 7).

Schemen (in the older language *scheme*, masc., *umbra*, was distinguished from *scheme*, fem., *Larva*, the former being especially MidG. and LG., the latter HG. L. introduced *schemen* into the literary language by taking it from his native dialect and using it in the Bible; he writes both *scheme* and *schemen.* Adelung designates *scheme* as a word unusual

[45] *DWb.* VII, 238; Heyne, *DWb.* II, 930.
[46] *DWb.* VIII, 1728.
[47] See *DWb.* VIII, 1969.

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in the literary language, but it is used frequently by writers of the classical period) [48] follows L. in writing the nom. both with and without *n*, e.g. *der Scheme im Wasser* (Prov. 27, 19), but *ein Schemen* (Ps. 39, 8).

Schlange (OHG. *slango*, masc. MHG. *slange*, chiefly masc. though fem. is found occasionally; not till L. does the fem. win out) has the acc. strong as *Schlange* (Num. 21, 8; Matth. 7, 10); the nom. is also *Schlange* (Gen. 3, 1; Ps. 140, 4; Prov. 10, 11), but the oblique cases are weak, e.g. dat. *zur Schlangen* (Ex. 7, 10; 15); gen. *der Schlangen Weg* (Prov. 30, 19; Ps. 58, 5; Rev. 12, 14).

Stern (OHG. *sterno* and *sterro*, weak and *stern*, str., MHG. has the same forms, which are still common in the sixteenth century, whereas the weak forms are used now only in compounds) has only the shorter form *Stern* in the nom. (Matth. 2, 9); where L. uses *Sternen* as acc. sg. (Matth. 2, 2; 2, 10), our version writes *Stern*. The plural is both strong and weak, e.g. nom. *Sterne* (Ps. 8, 4; Bar. 6, 59), gen. plu. *der Stern* (Deut. 1, 10), but weak *Sternen* (Gen. 1, 16).

Traube (originally weak masc. OHG. *trūbo*, late OHG. *trūba*, fem. MHG. *trūbe*, masc. and fem.; still weak masc. in sixteenth century) has one case of the old weak masc.: *des Trauben willen* (Num. 13, 25), as in L.; a fem. nom. with *n* occurs: *ein unzeitige Trauben* (Job 15, 33); weak dat. sg. *mit einer Weintrauben* (Num. 13, 24). L. writes the word with *d*.

Tropfen (OHG. *tropfo* and *troffo*, MHG. *tropfe*, weak; in older NHG. we find a shorter form *Tropf* in the nom., e.g. in L., otherwise the nom. is *Tropfe* which lasts down to Jean Paul, though *n* enters the nom. in the seventeenth century) [49] has the shorter nom., as in L., e.g. *Tropf* (Is. 40, 15; Wis. 11, 23); plu. is *die Tropfen* (Deut. 32, 2); the diminutive occurs as *Tröpflein* (Sir. 18, 8). L. writes Tröpflin.

Vormund (OHG. *formunto*, MHG. *vormunde* and *vormünde*, weak) still has weak forms, as in L., e.g. dat. sg. *zum Vormunden* (2 Mac. 4, 21, where L. writes *ü*); plu. *Vormünden* (2 Kings 10, 5).

[48] See *Ibid.*, VIII, 2535.

[49] See Heyne, *DWb.* III, 1056.

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Feminine n-Stems

Achsel (OHG. *ahsala*, MHG. *achsel*) occurs with a weak dat. sg.: *von der Achseln* (Job 31, 22).

Ameise (OHG. *ameiza*, MHG. *ameize* and *emeize*, L. *eimmes* and *emmeis*) occurs weak in the dat. sg.: *gehe hin zur Ameisen* (Prov. 6, 6).

Arche (originally both strong and weak, OHG. *arahha* and *arka*, MHG. *arche* and *arke*) occurs only strong, e.g. *Noe in die Arche ging* (Luke 17, 27), as in L. The word is rare in the German Bible, as L. uses *Noahs Kasten* for the ark and *Bundeslade* for the ark of the covenant.

Base (OHG. *basa* and *pasa*, MHG. *base;* L. uses only the MidG. form *wase*) still occurs as *Wase* (Lev. 18, 14).

Beule (OHG. *pūlla*, *puilla*, MHG. *biule*, str. and weak) occurs both strong and weak; a weak dat. sg. *zur Beulen* (Gen. 4, 23) and a str. acc. *Beule* (Ex. 21, 25) were noted; the plural is *Beulen* (Ex. 14, 56).

Dirne (OHG. *diorna*, weak, but MHG. just as often strong) exhibits both weak and strong forms, e.g. dat. sg. *Dirne* (Deut. 22, 26); acc. sg. *Dirne* (Deut. 22, 25; 1 Kings 1, 2; 3), but gen. sg. *Dirnen* (Deut. 22, 15; 16; 19; Jdg. 19, 3; 4; 9); dat. sg. *Dirnen* (Deut. 22, 26).

Ecke (in OHG. str. and w. fem. and str. neut., in MHG. the fem. prevails) occurs only weak in the oblique cases, e.g. dat. sg. *Ecken* (Josh. 15, 2; Prov. 7, 8; Jer. 31, 40, still in Goethe); plu. *Ecken* (Ex. 39, 16; 26, 23).

Erde (both str. and w. in OHG. and MHG.; L. has *n* in nom.: *so lange die erden stehet* (Gen. 8, 22); *Himmel und Erden werden vergehen* (Matth. 24, 35), which is still used in Gryphius, but corrected in the first case by our version) usually shows weak forms, e.g. dat. sg. is always weak: *Erden* (Ex. 20, 4; Ps. 146, 4; Matth. 12, 40) seven times; acc. sg. *Erden* (Ex. 20, 11; Ps. 140, 11, etc.) 34 times. I noted eight strong acc. *Erde* (Job 39, 27; Prov. 8, 26; Rev. 19, 6, etc.).

Flamme (from Lat. not used in OHG. and seldom in MHG. both str. and w.) occurs weak in dat. sg.: *für der Flammen* (Is. 47, 14; Ex. 3, 2; Luke 16, 24); the plu. is also weak:

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Flammen (Job 41, 2). The older fem. nom. of the indef. article, still used in L., e.g. *ein flamme* (Num. 21, 28) is usually corrected into *eine*, but is retained in one instance noted: *ein brennende Flamme* (Joel 2, 3).

Flasche (both str. and w. in MHG.) is usually weak in the dat. sg.: *in der Flaschen* (Gen. 21, 14; 1 Sam. 1, 24); the forms of the acc. sg. are confused: *eine Flasche* (Gen. 21, 14), but *eine Flaschen* (1 Sam. 10, 3).

Frau (MHG. *vrouwe*, str. and w.) has only weak forms in the oblique cases, e.g. gen. sg. *ihrer Frauen* (Prov. 30, 23); dat. sg. *Frauen* (Gen. 16, 9); *Jungfrauen* (Tob. 8, 1), but str. acc. *Jungfrau* (Tob. 8, 4).

Galle (originally weak) is both strong and weak, as in L. The nom. sg. occurs as *Gall* (Deut. 32, 32; 33); str. gen. *Galle* (Acts 8, 23); weak dat. sg. *Gallen* (Jer. 9, 15; Tob. 11, 8; 13; Matth. 27, 34); weak acc. sg. *Gallen* (Ps. 69, 23).

Garbe (MHG. both str. and w.) seems still to be weak in the sg., to judge by the weak acc. sg. *eine Garben* (Lev. 23, 10); the nom. is *Garbe* (Lev. 23, 11; 12); plu. *Garben* (Gen. 37, 7).

Gasse (originally weak, but MHG. has already strong forms in the sing.) has strong forms in the acc. sg. *Gasse* (Acts 12, 10, etc.), but the oblique cases are weak, e.g. dat. sg. *der Gassen* (Gen. 19, 2; Ps. 31, 12; Prov. 7, 8; 22, 13, etc. 14 times).

Glatze (MHG. *glaz*, masc. but fem. by sixteenth century) has the nom. *eine Glatze* (Is. 3, 24); the dat. sg. is weak: *an der Glatzen* (Lev. 13, 42).

Gosse (old technical word not given in MHG. though it was probably used; found first in the thesaurus of Henisch of 1616) [50] has a strong plural in the only occurrence noted: *Wassergösse* (2 Sam. 22, 16).

Harfe (OHG. *harpfa*, MHG. *harpfe*, *pf* still in L. and in Upper G. till seventeenth century) is still weak, as in L., e.g. acc. sg. *die Harffen* (1 Sam. 16, 23); dat. sg. *Harffen* (Ps. 49, 5; 71, 22; 92, 4); nom. sg. *Harffe* (Ps. 57, 9).

Haube (OHG. *hūba*, MHG. *hūbe*, mostly weak) is still weak, e.g. dat. sg. *Hauben* (Sir. 6, 31); acc. sg. *Hauben* (Judith 10, 3); plu. *Hauben* (Ex. 29, 9; Lev. 8, 13).

[50] Heyne, *DWb.* I, 1223.

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Hippe (a MidG. form introduced by L.) occurs but twice in the weak dat. *mit deiner scharfen Hippen* (Rev. 14, 18; 19).

Höhle (originally *ī* abstract, OHG. *hōlī*, MHG. *hüle*, went over partly to weak declension. L. uses both str. and w. and also the older form: *in die hüle*, Job 37, 8) shows both str. and w. forms, e.g. gen. and dat. sg. *Hölen* (1 Kings 19, 13; 1 Mac. 2, 41), but str. dat. *Höle* (Gen. 19, 30; 23, 19); acc. sg. *Höle* (Job 37, 8).

Kreide (OHG. *crīda*, MHG. *krīde*, w. fem., still weak in the seventeenth century) is weak in the only occurrence noted: *auf der Kreiden* (Prov. 25, 20).

Laube (OHG. *louba* and *louppa*, which latter form and the MHG. *leube* show that it was originally a weak *jō*-stem) appears weak in the dat. sg. *Lauben* (Sir. 14, 26).

Leiste (OHG. *līsta*, MHG. *līste*, w. fem.) has only weak forms, e.g. acc. sg. *eine Leisten* (Ex. 25, 25); *die Leisten* (Ex. 25, 27; 37, 12); dat. sg. *der Leisten* (Ex. 25, 27; 37, 14); gen. plu. *der Leisten* (1 Kings 7, 36; nom. plu. *Leisten* (1 Kings 7, 35).

Linde (OHG. *linta*, MHG. *linde*, w. fem.) is still weak in the sing., e.g. *unter einer Linden* (Sus. 54), as in L.; dat. plu. *Linden* (Hos. 4, 13).

Nase (OHG. *nasa*, MHG. *nase*, st. and w., as also in older NHG., still weak in compounds; a Bible of 1483 has nom. sg. *Nas*, Song 17, 4, as in Upper G.) [51] is declined consistently weak, e.g. gen. sg. *deiner Nasen* (Ps. 18, 16; Job 39, 23); dat. sg. *Nasen* (Ps. 18, 9; Lev. 21, 18; Deut. 11, 30); acc. sg. *Nasen* (2 Kings 19, 28; Prov. 30, 33; Gen. 2, 7; Deut. 33, 10, etc.).

Pauke (MHG. *pūke*, w. fem.) is still declined weak: acc. sg. *eine Paucken* (Ex. 15, 20); dat. plu. *Paucken* (Ex. 15, 20; Ps. 149, 3).

Pfanne (OHG. *phanna*, w. fem. MHG. *pfanne*, str. and w.) is usually weak in the oblique cases, e.g. dat. sg. *Pfannen* (Lev. 2, 5; 6, 21; 7, 9; 2 Mac. 7, 5) but a str. dat. *Pfanne* (Num. 16, 17), as also in L.; the acc. sg. is always *Pfanne* (2 Mac. 7, 5; Num. 16, 17; 18, 46).

Pforte (OHG. *pforta*, MHG. *pforte*, str. and w.) MidG. usually weak, as also early NHG.) is still weak: acc. sg. *Pforten*

[51] *DWb.* VII, 337.

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(Matth. 7, 13; Luke 13, 24); Nom. sg. *Pforte* (Matth. 7, 23); plu. *Pforten* (Matth. 16, 18).

Pfrieme (MHG. *pfrieme* w. and str. fem. and *pfriem*, masc.) is always fem. but both str. and w., e.g. acc. sg. *eine Pfrieme* (Deut. 15, 17); dat. sg. *mit einer Pfriemen* (Ex. 21, 6); dat. plu. *Pfriemen* (1 Kings 18, 28; Rom. 18, 28) where L. writes *pfrümen*.

Posaune (MHG. *busūne*, mostly weak; since L. the usual form is *Posaune*, though MidG. has *b*) is preponderantly weak, e.g. gen. sg. *einer Posaunen* (Ex. 19, 16; 20, 19; Ps. 47, 6; Is. 27, 13; 1 Cor. 15, 52; Rev. 1, 10); dat. sg. *mit der Posaunen* (Neh. 4, 18; Is. 27, 13; 1 Thess. 4, 16); weak acc. *die Posaunen* (2 Sam. 2, 28; Neh. 4, 20); str. acc. *die Posaune* (Rev. 9, 14; Jdg. 7, 16); nom. sg. *die Posaune* (1 Cor. 15, 52); plu. *die Posaunen* (Lev. 25, 9; Ps. 81, 4); dat. plu. *Posaunen* (1 Chr. 14, 8).

Reba (OHG. *repa*, str. and w. MHG. *rebe* w.; also OHG. *rebo*, MHG. *rebe* w. masc.) shows the same fluctuation between masc. and fem., as in L., e.g. *der Rebe* (Joh. 15, 4) *einen Reben* (Joh. 15, 2); but nom. *eine Rebe* (Jdg. 8, 2); acc. *eine Reben* (Num. 13, 24).

Röhre (OHG. *rōra*, *rōrra*, fem. *jō*-stem, str. and w., MHG. *roere*, weak) has a weak dat. sg. *der Röhren* (Job. 31, 22); nom. sg. *Röhre* (Ex. 25, 32; 33); plu. *Röhren* (Jud. 7, 6).

Rose (OHG. *rōsa*, MHG. *rōse*, always weak; *n* found in nom. in sixteenth century in Hans Sachs) [52] also has n in the nom.: *wie ein aufgegangen Rosen* (1 Kings 7, 26), as in L., otherwise: *eine Rose* (Song 2, 1; 2); dat. plu. *Rosen* (Song 4, 5; 2, 16; 6, 2).

Rute (OHG. *ruota*, the few cases are str. MHG. *ruote*, equally divided between str. and w.) follows Luther's usage throughout and is declined mostly weak. The regular nom. *Rute* (Is. 11, 1; Heb. 9, 4, etc.) occurs 11 times, while a form with *n* in the nom., *Ruten* (Job 21, 9; Prov. 10, 13, etc.), is found 15 times; w. gen. *seiner Ruten* (Prov. 13, 24); w. dat. *mit der Ruhten* (Ps. 89, 33; Sir. 30, 1; Ezek. 7, 11); str. acc. *die Rute* (Prov. 22, 8; Is. 9, 4; Lam. 3, 1; Wis. 3, 11).

[52] See *DWb.* VIII, 1163.

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Scheune (MHG. *schiune*, str. and w., according to Adelung a LG. word, at any rate not found in Upper German dialects today) is declined weak: *von der Scheunen* (Num. 15, 20; 18, 27); plu. *Scheunen* (Prov. 3, 10); in one case where L. uses *shewnen* (Luke 12, 24) our version substitutes the word *Scheuern*.

Sehne (OHG. *senewa*, MHG. *senewe*, *sene*, str. and w.) is still declined weak in the forms noted: dat. sg. *der Sehnen* (Ps. 21, 13); plu. *Sehnen* (Ps. 11, 2).

Seite (OHG. *sīta*, MHG. *sīte*, str. and w.) is declined mostly weak: dat. sg. *Seiten* (Ex. 17, 12; 25, 32; 26, 20; 27, 9; Ps. 48, 3; 91, 7; 1 Mac. 9, 45); acc. sg. *Seiten* (Ps. 45, 4; Acts 12, 7, etc.) but str. *seine Seite* (John 19, 34); dat. plu. *zun Seiten* (Ex. 25, 32); acc. plu. *Seiten* (Josh. 23, 13).

Sohle (OHG. *sola*, MHG. *sole* and *sol*, always weak and still so in older NHG. The Dehnungs-h is occasionally found in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, but does not prevail till the eighteenth century) [53] is declined consistently weak, e.g. *von der Fußsolen* (Is. 1, 6; 2 Sam. 14, 25; 1 Kings 5, 3; Job 2, 7); plu. *Fußsolen* (Deut. 11, 24; Ezek. 43, 7; Josh. 3, 13); dat. plu. *Fußsolen* (Josh. 4, 18; 2 Kings 19, 24; Deut. 28, 35).

Sonne (OHG. *sunna*, w. fem. but also *sunno*, w. masc., MHG. *sunne*, often masc. and still Upper German down to fifteenth century. In MidG. it was always fem. and this prevailed owing to L.) [54] has weak forms in the oblique cases, as in L., e.g. gen. sg. *der Sonnen* (Ps. 50, 1; 113, 2; Rev. 21, 23) eight times; dat. sg. *Sonnen* (Ps. 19, 5; Ecc. 1, 9; Rev. 8, 12; 12, 1) five times; but acc. *Sonne* (Matth. 5, 45; Rev. 16, 8, etc.). Where L. writes acc. *die Sonnen* (Tob. 3, 23), our version uses *Sonne*. In connection with *Mond* an abbreviated form appears: *Sonn und Mond* (Hab. 4, 11; Matth. 24, 29).

Spitze (OHG. *spizza*, w. fem. MHG. *spitze*, w. and str.) has the weak declension, as in L.: dat. sg. *mit der Spitzen* (Jdg. 6, 21; 1 Sam. 14, 27; 2 Mac. 8, 23); w. acc. *Spitzen* (2 Sam. 2, 25; Esther 5, 2; Heb. 11, 21; Ex. 34, 2; 1 Sam. 26, 13); occasionally, however, strong forms are found: acc. sg. *Spitze* (Ex. 19, 20; Deut. 34, 1); in one case where L. uses the str. dat. *auf der*

[53] *DWb.* X, 1, 1409.
[54] *DWb.* X, 1, 1590 ff.

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spitze (Ex. 24, 17) our version has changed it to *Spitzen;* the plu. is *Spitzen* (Sir. 43, 22).

Taube (OHG. *tūba*, MHG. *tūbe*, w. fem.) is declined both strong and weak: nom. sg. *Taube* (Gen. 8, 9; Is. 38, 14; Song 5, 2; str. acc. *Taube* (Gen. 8, 10; Lev. 12, 6); weak acc. *eine Tauben* (Gen. 8, 8; 15, 9); *eine Turteltauben* (Gen. 15, 9; Lev. 12, 6); plu. *Tauben* (Ps. 5, 7; Jer. 48, 28; Matth. 10, 16).

Witwe (OHG. *wituwa*, w. fem. MHG. *witewe*, str. and w.) is weak in the oblique cases: dat. sg. *der Witwen* (Deut. 24, 17; 21; 26, 12; 27, 19; 1 Kings 17, 9; 20; Judith 9, 2; Luke 4, 26); gen. sg. *keiner Witwen schonen* (Wis. 2, 10); acc. sg. *Witwe* (Lev. 21, 13; Luke 21, 2, etc.).

Wiege (OHG. *wiga*, w. fem. MHG. *wige* and *wiege*, w. and str.) is declined weak, e.g. dat. sg. *in der Wiegen* (2 Mac. 5, 13).

Ziege (OHG. *ziga*, MHG. *zige*, w. fem.); is weak in the sing.: gen. sg. *Ziegen* (Num. 18, 17); plu. *Ziegen* (1 Sam. 25, 2).

Zunge (OHG. *zunga*, w. MHG. *zunge*, w. and str.) is weak in the oblique cases: dat. sg. *Zungen* (Ps. 18, 9; Prov. 6, 24; 31, 26; Josh. 15, 2; 5; 18, 19; Mark 7, 25; 1 Cor. 14, 27, etc.); but str. acc. *Zunge* (Ps. 34, 14; 140, 4; Sir. 51, 50; 2 Mac. 7, 10; 15, 33); one case of w. acc. was noted: *einerley Zungen und Sprache* (Gen. 15, 1), as in L.

u-Declension Masculines

Friede (OHG. *fridu*, str. MHG. *vride*, str. and w.) is mostly decined strong: nom. *Friede* (Prov. 3, 17; Ps. 122, 7); one case of *Frieden* in the nom. was noted: *der Frieden* (1 Mac. 11, 38); gen. *des Friedes* (Num. 25, 12, etc. 23 times); three cases of mixed gen. *des Friedens* (1 Mac. 8, 22; Rom. 3, 17; 2 Cor. 3, 11); dat. *Friede* (Ps. 37, 11; Josh. 13, 21); acc. *Friede* (Ps. 34, 15; 85, 9; 119, 165; 120, 7; 147, 14; Prov. 3, 2; Matth. 10, 34; Acts 9, 31, etc.); a few cases of weak acc. *den Frieden* (Ps. 120, 6; 122, 8; 2 Mac. 9, 21; Jer. 12, 12) were noted.

Maul " mule " (OHG. *mūl*, from Lat. *mulus* and therefore masc. till fourteenth century) has the plu. *die Mäuler* (1 Kings 18, 5; 2 Kings 5, 17; Esther 8, 14; Ps. 32, 9); the sing. *Maul* is common (2 Sam. 13, 29; 18, 9).

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Sitte (OHG. *situ*, MHG. *site*. str. masc.; weak forms begin in MHG. and predominate in early NHG.; it remains masc. until the middle of the seventeenth century) [55] still seems to be masc. to judge by the phrase: *ein ewiger Sitte* (Lev. 3, 17); the other occurrences either do not show the gender, as: *es ist nicht Sitte* (Gen. 29, 26) or else are plural: *die Sitten* (2 Mac. 4, 11; Neh. 9, 13; 1 Kings 2, 3; 3, 14; 8, 58; Ps. 147, 19; Ezek. 43, 11; 1 Cor. 15, 33); dat. plu. *den Sitten* (1 Kings 3, 3; 8, 61; Neh. 10, 29; Ezek. 11, 20; 44, 5).

Wald (OHG. *wald*, u-stem, plu. *walda*, MHG. *walde* and *welde;* the usual plu. in the sixteenth century is *welde* or *wälde*, though *walde* is still found at times till end of the seventeenth century) [56] is still declined as in MHG. plu. *die Wälde* (Jer. 4, 29; Bar. 5, 8); dat. plu. *in den Wälden* (2 Chr. 27, 4; Ezek. 34, 25); nom. sg. *der Wald* (Is. 10, 34); acc. sg. *den Wald* (Deut. 19, 5; Josh. 17, 15; Hos. 2, 12).

Feminine u-Stems

Hand went over early to the *i*-declension and calls for no comment, except that the plural is always written with *ä*, whereas L. used *e*, e.g. *Hände* (2 Mac. 3, 20; Mark 10, 6; Luke 23, 46; 1 Tim. 2, 8).

Schwieger (OHG. *swigar*, MHG. *swiger*) is still common: *bey seiner Schwieger* (Deut. 27, 23; Matth. 10, 35; Luke 12, 53; Ruth 1, 14, etc.).

Neuter u-Stems

Vieh (OHG. *fihu*, MHG. *vihe*, *vehe*) calls for little comment, except that our version has changed all the longer forms such as *vihe*, which L. uses frequently in the nom. and acc. sg. into a uniform *Vieh*, e.g. L. *dein vihe* (Is. 30, 23); acc. L. *das viehe* (Luke 17, 7; Ps. 36, 7), gen. sg. *seins Viehs* (Job 1, 3).

Masculine r-Stems

Of the two words belonging here, *Bruder* calls for no remark. In the case of *Vater*, however, attention should be called to the fact that our version of 1671 differs in an important respect from L. In his early writings L. wrote *vatter*, but in the Bible

[55] *DWb.* X, 1, 1238.
[56] *DWb.* XIII, 1073.

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of 1545 used but one *t*. Our version harks back to the older form, always writing *Vatter* (Gen. 2, 24).

Feminine r-Stems

Mutter calls for little comment, except that the longer plural form *Müttere*, found occasionally in MHG. and in L. (1 Tim. 5, 2), has been changed to *Mütter*.

Tochter likewise has the older plural in *-e* in L. *töchtere* (Ezek. 22, 11) which our version alters into *Töchter*.

Stems in -nt

Feind, the adjective character of this old participle is shown by its being used in the comparative: *da wurden sie ihm noch feinder* (Gen. 37, 5). This occurs in L. and has been retained until today.

Freund. By the side of many plurals *Freunde* (Prov. 19, 4; 2 Sam. 3, 8; Acts 10, 24) L. has one case of the older plural without ending: *die drei freund* (Job 2, 11); this our version has changed to *Freunde*.

Masculine Consonant Stems

Mann (OHG. and MHG. plu. *man*, but since the fifteenth century the most usual plu. is *menner*) still retains the old plu. *Mann* where L. uses *man*: *alle Mann* (1 Sam. 14, 22); *starke Mann* (1 Chr. 24, 3). The form *Mann* with numerals which is found frequently in the Bible (Gen. 33, 1; Jdg. 15, 11; 1 Sam. 14, 2) and still today is said to be a singular [57] (L. writes the plural always as *menner;* 2 Sam. 19, 41; Jdg. 9, 4; Josh. 1, 14; Ruth 1, 11; 13); this is changed to *Männer*. L. writes the gen. as *mans*, Job 10, 5; Num. 5, 12: in the first instance our version retains it as *Manns*, but in the second changes it to the modern *Mannes*. The dat. sg., which L. writes *man*, is retained as *Mann* (Gen. 3, 6; 16).

Feminine Consonant Stems

Axt (OHG. *ackus*, MHG. *ackes*, *t* added later) is found usually in the form *Axt* (Deut. 19, 5, etc.) but a form *Axte* occurs (Bar. 6, 14), as in L.

[57] *DWb.* VI, 1554.

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Burg still has the umlauted plural *Bürge* (Num. 31, 10), used by L. and still given by Adelung as the correct form.

Nacht. In one case where L. uses the old unumlauted plural: *elender nacht sind mir viel worden* (Job 7, 3), the form is changed to *Nächt;* in two other cases where a numeral is used: *drei nacht* (Tob. 3, 12); *vierzig nacht* (1 Kings 19, 8) the form is retained as *Nacht.*

Neuter es/os Stems

Ähre (OHG. *ahir*, MHG. *eher*, neut. still in sixteenth century *das Äher* or *eher*) does not occur in the Bible in the sing., but one instance in L.: *kriegt es eine schöne ehern* (6.256a) shows that he used it as fem. In our version the plu. is usually *Ehern* (Gen. 41, 7; Deut. 23, 25; Is. 17, 5; Matth. 12, 1; Mk. 4, 28), but two cases of *Ähren* (Ruth 2, 2; Luke 6, 1) are found and one case of *Ären* (Mk. 2, 23).

Unusual Nouns

The nouns thus far treated have been mostly common ones which showed older or unusual forms. In this section a few nouns will be discussed which are interesting because they either have died out or exhibit forms which are no longer used.

After, common in the expression *Afterreden* (1 Pet. 2, 1; 12; 3, 16) and as verb in the sense of " calumniate " (Jas. 4, 11) occurs also in the older meaning, still found in English, in *Affter-Sabbath* (Luke 6, 1), the day after the Sabbath.

Demant, originally MidG. is the usual form of the word from the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was very popular with L. and is the only form found in 1671 (Jer. 17, 1; Job 28, 17; Ezek. 3, 9; 28, 13).

Gelte, now a rare word, except in dialect, but common in earlier NHG., occurs once (Heb. 9, 4) in the sense of a vessel containing the shew bread.

Genieß (MHG. *geniez*) occurs twice, as in L. (2 Cor. 6, 14; Jude 1, 11) in the sense of *Genuss.*

Ger, Geren, m. occurs, as in L. in the meaning of the front part of the skirt or apron: *Da breitet ich meinen Geren über dich* (Ezek. 16, 8); *in seines Kleides Gehren* (Hag. 2, 13).

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Gezelt, which has now mostly given way to *Zelt* or *Lager*, but was more common than these in the older language, occurs very frequently in 1671 (Jer. 6, 3; 10, 20; 43, 10; 49, 29; Judith 10, 18; 12, 10; 13, 1; 14, 4; Sir. 24, 7, etc.).

Gliedmaß has two plurals, *Gliedmaßen* (2 Mac. 7, 11), as now, but also *Gliedmaß* (Job 41, 14), originally a neuter form more common than the other in older NHG.

Handthier occurs in this spelling (Is. 47, 15; Ezek. 27, 27). This is due to an attempt to connect it with the word *Hand*, though L. writes it correctly *hantierer*.

Liberey (2 Mac. 2, 13), borrowed from Latin, is frequently used by L. and in the sixteenth century, but disappears after the seventeenth.

Rappuse, "plundering, booty," probably came from LG. and was made common by L. It has practically died out now, except in the one expression: *in die Rappuse geben*, which has been taken from the Bible where it occurs three times (Jer. 15, 3; 17, 3; Ezek. 23, 46).

Schoß in the sense of "tribute" is MidG. and was introduced by L. (cf. Engl. *scot*). It occurs several times in the Bible (Luke 20, 22; 23, 2; Rom. 13, 7; 7).

Schutt, plu. *Schütte*, known since the fifteenth century in the meaning of "ramparts," occurs several times in the Bible: *bauten einen Schutt* (2 Kings 25, 1; Ezek. 26, 8); plu.; *Schütte* (Jer. 6, 6; Dan. 11, 15).

Ströter, "bandit," given by Adelung as *veraltet*, occurs only once (Hos. 6, 9), as in L.

Verdrieß, not very common in MHG., but a favorite with L., occurs a few times in 1671 (Jer. 7, 18; 19; Ezek. 8, 3). Its occurrences in Luther's works are given in full by Wülcker, *DWb.* XII, 243.

Wehrd, an interesting survival of MHG. *wert*, "island," that has remained only in proper names like *Nonnenwerth*, occurs in 1671 twice: *und zu einem Wehrd im Meer machen* (Ezek. 26, 5; 14).

Teiding (OHG. *tagadinc*, MHG. *tegedinc*, *teidinc*) which is common in early NHG. in the sense of "unnützes Gerede," occurs a number of times in the Bible: *gibt stolze Teidinge für*

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mit Unverstand (Job 35, 16); *mit ihren Lügen und losen Teidingen* (Jer. 23, 32; Ezek. 22, 28).

Adverbs

Haußen, contracted out of *hie außen*, quite common in older NHG. and still used by Goethe, occurs many times in the Bible (Deut. 24, 11; Josh. 6, 23; 1 King 7, 9; 8, 8; 2 Kings 10, 24; 16, 18; 23, 4; 2 Chr. 24, 8; Prov. 7, 12; Ezra 10, 13; Mark 1, 45; 2, 2; 3, 31; Luke 1, 10; Rev. 22, 15).

Hunten, contracted out of *hie unten*, is likewise common in older NHG. and is still used by Goethe; L. writes it *hunden*. It occurs three times (Deut. 33, 13; 1 Kings 8, 23; Is. 7, 11).

Spat, the adverb of *spät*, still found in Goethe and in dialect, occurs several times (Judith 13, 1; Sir. 38, 27; 28, 31; 34); also in the compound *Spatregen* (Deut. 11, 14; Jer. 3, 3; Zech. 10, 1).

Thörlich (MHG. *tōrlīche*), common in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, occurs a few times (1 Sam. 13, 13; Jer. 20, 11).

Verhanden for *vorhanden*, late MHG., used by L. but dying out in the seventeenth century, though still used by Opitz and Logau, occurs Dan. 11, 35.

Prepositions

The longer form of *ab* occurs as *abe*, e.g. *falle nicht abe* (Num. 14, 9); *Hebet den Stein abe* (John 11, 39; 41).

Gegen fluctuates between dative and acc., but with a decided preference for the dative, as in L. The acc. is used mostly with verbs of motion, e.g. *gegen diese kehren* (1 Mac. 9, 17); *die satzten sich gegen das Grab* (Matth. 27, 61); *gegen das Licht gerechnet* (Wis. 7, 29). The following are cases with the dative: *gegen ihr* (Jud. 10, 19; 12, 17); *gegen ihnen* (Jud. 15, 2); *gegen ihm* (Tob. 7, 7; 1 Mac. 3, 11; 16; 11, 68); *gegen deiner Wolthat* (Tob. 9, 2); *gegen dem Sand* (Sir. 18, 8), but in the same verse the acc. *gegen das Meer* is used exactly in the same way to indicate a comparison.

Bei occurs very frequently with the acc., as in L.: *trat bey das Rad* (Ezek. 10, 6); *er kam hart bey mich* (Dan. 8, 17); *trat bey den*

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Altar (Rev. 8, 3); *bey meine Vätter* (Gen. 49, 29; 2 Kgs. 14, 20); *bey das Panier* (Num. 1, 52); *bey die Könige* (2 Kgs. 13, 13); *bey die Knechte* (26, 58); *bey die Stätte* (Luke 10, 32).

Jenseit is used with both gen. and dat., e.g. *jenseit des Arnon* (Jdg. 11, 18); *jenseit des Meers* (Deut. 30, 13; Matth. 8, 18); *jenseit des Wassers* (Josh. 24, 3). With the dative: *jenseit dem Wasser* (Josh. 24, 2); *jenseit dem Jordan* (Jdg. 10, 8; 1 Sam. 31, 7); *jenseit euch* (2 Cor. 10, 16). All these cases follow exactly the usage of L.

Laut occurs in the genitive form preferred by L. e.g. *lauts aller Flüche* (Deut. 29, 21).

Über is found also with the dative instead of acc. with verbs, e.g. *dasz er sich über dir freue* (Deut. 30, 9).

The prefix *zu* in the meaning of *zer* which is very common in L. is still used in 1671 in many instances, e.g. *zuhauen* (Lev. 1, 6); *zubrochen* (Num. 9, 12), 108 cases being noted from Lev. to Job, to 12 of *zer*, the latter form being more frequent in the later books.

Syntactical Notes

This study has concerned itself primarily with the phonology and morphology of the language, but a few syntactical notes on unusual or archaic usages may be of interest.

The partitive genitive is still in active use, e.g. *trank des Baches* (1 Kings 17, 6); *seines Brunnens trinken* (2 Kings 18, 31).

The genitive of *Rat* is still used with *werden*, e.g. *der König Juda ward Raths* (2 Chr. 25, 17); *die ganze Gemeine ward Raths* (2 Chr. 30, 23); *ward er Rahts* (2 Chr. 32, 3); *mein Herz ward Rahts* (Neh. 5, 7).

Viel is frequently used with the genitive, e.g. *viel Samens* (Deut. 28, 38); *viel Viehes* (Josh. 22, 8); *zu viel des Volkes* (Jdg. 7, 2; 4); *viel Brods* (Matth. 15, 34). *Voll* is also used with the genitive, e.g. *voll Wassers* (Nahum 2, 8). Similarly *wenig*, e.g. *wenig Wassers* (Jdg. 4, 19). The German equivalent for "today" assumes various forms, e.g. *heutes Tags* (Deut. 1, 10; 39; 2, 25; 4, 25; 5, 3; 24; Ezra 9, 8; 15). As is well known this comes from *heut des Tages*, found already in NHG. and common in L. A shorter form *heuts Tages* is also found (Deut. 4, 4; 8, 38; Josh. 14, 11; 1 Sam. 17, 46; 24, 11; 25, 32); also as *heut dieses*

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Tages (Jer. 1, 10). Then as adj. in the gen., e.g. *heutiges Tages* (Deut. 6, 24; 8, 18; 29, 28; Jdg. 15, 19; 1 Sam. 12, 5; 17, 10; 26, 21; Jer. 11, 5; Matth. 11, 23) or in the acc.: *den heutigen Tag* (Deut. 3, 14; 29, 4; 34, 6; Jer. 3, 25; Matth. 27, 8).

The strong form of the adjective is occasionally used after such words as *der* and *dieser*, e.g. *dieser Unbeschnittener* (1 Sam. 17, 26), but *der Unbeschnittene* (1 Sam. 17, 36); *der Eltester* (2 John 1, 1; 3, 1); *der einer* (1 Sam. 17, 36).

The present participle retains at times the final *e* of the MHG., e.g. *dein König kömpt reitende* (John 12, 15). It is also used with *werden*, e.g. *Da ward das gantze Heer lauffend* (Jdg. 7, 21).

The verb *verschonen* still governs the genitive, as in L., e.g. *sein verschonen* (Gen. 19, 16); *deines einigen Sohns nicht verschonen* (Gen. 22, 12); *ihr verschonen* (Deut. 25, 12); *dein verschonen* (Rom. 11, 21).

Vermissen likewise takes the genitive, as in L. e.g. *dein vermissen* (1 Sam. 20, 18); *man vermisset Davids* (1 Sam. 20, 26; 27); *dasz man niemands vermisse . . . wes man vermissen wird* (2 Kings 10, 19).

Helfen takes mostly the dative of the person, but a few cases with the accusative were noted: *dich helffen* (Judith 10, 16); *halff sie nichts* (Mark 5, 26); *was hülff sie das?* (James 2, 16).

Pflegen still governs the genitive, as in the older language, e.g., *pfleget ihr* (Tob. 14, 15); *die der Hütten pflegen* (Heb. 13, 10); *die des Altars pflegen* (1 Cor. 9, 13); *sie pflegeten des Priester-Ampts* (Num. 3, 4); *des Ampts sollen sie nicht pflegen* (Num. 8, 26).

Rufen is quite frequent with the dative, e.g. *ruffet . . . dem Bräutigam* (Joh. 2, 9; 9, 18); *und rieff ihrer Schwester* (John 11, 28); *ich ruffe dem Schwerdt* (Jer. 25, 29); other cases Jdg. 21, 13; 2 Kings 10, 19; Ex. 1, 8, but also with the acc. *eine ruffen* (Ex. 2, 7).

Sich erwegen in the meaning of " entsagen " occurs with the genitive, e.g. *sich ihres Lebens erwegen* (Esther 5, 9; Wis. 17, 15); *dasz wir uns des Lebens erwegen* (2 Cor. 1, 8). It is common in L., but gradually dies out in the seventeenth century.

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The acc. of the person and the gen. of the thing is found with *sich enthalten* and *gewähren*, e.g. *dich ihr (der Braut) enthalten* (Tob. 6, 19); *sich Weins etc. enthalten* (Num. 6, 3); *Wer kann sichs enthalten* (Job 4, 2); *ich enthalte mich des* (2 Cor. 12, 6); *gewähret mich einer Bitte* (Tob. 7, 10); *der Herr gewähre dich deiner Bitte* (Ps. 20, 6).

The verbs *liegen*, *sitzen* and *stehen* mostly follow the Upper German usage and are conjugated with *sein*, but cases with *haben* also occur, e.g. *gelegen waren* (Jdg. 21, 12; Joh. 11, 17); *gelegen sind* (Is. 61, 4), but *gelegen haben* (Is. 35, 7; Gen. 19, 34); *bin ich gesessen* (Matth. 26, 55); *gesessen bist* (Deut. 22, 13; Rev. 3, 21); *gesessen ist* (Luke 19, 30; Mark 11, 2); but *gesessen hatte* (Acts 3, 10); *gestanden sey* (Num. 35, 12; Josh. 20, 9; 2 Sam. 13, 13; 2 Kings 10, 4); *gestanden waren* (Josh. 4, 9); *er ist gestanden* (1 Sam. 4, 7; Lev. 13, 8); *ich gestanden bin* (Jer. 18, 20); *gestanden sein* (2 Sam. 18, 13); *sind gestanden* (2 Kings 10, 4); *ist nicht bestanden* (John 8, 44); only three cases with *haben* were noted: *hab ich . . . gestanden* (Eccl. 2, 15); *die haben gestanden* (Rom. 9, 30); *sie gestanden hat* (Tob. 4, 4). All these cases follow L.'s usage; in L.'s other writings the proportion of sein to haben is as 24 to 4.[58]

As to be expected *gehen* is uniformly conjugated with *sein*, e.g. *Laban war gegangen* (Gen. 31, 19), but I noted one case with *haben: haben . . . gegangen* (2 Cor. 12, 18). This use is especially MidG. and is found in L.

Folgen is always construed with *haben*, as usual in MHG. and early NHG., e.g. *er . . . gefolget hat* (Deut. 1, 36); *du . . . gefolget hast* (Josh. 14, 9); *gefolget hatte* (Josh. 14, 14); *wir haben gefolget* (Judith 8, 15; 2 Pet. 1, 16). Not till we come to Lessing and Wieland do we find forms with *sein* by the side of *haben*.[59]

[58] *DWb.* X, 2. 1464.

[59] See *DWb.* III, 1879.

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THE DANISH VOLKSBÜCHER

By MARGARET SCHLAUCH

I

"ONE would suppose that the flame of love had a lesser might here in the North, under the colder heavens, than in Italy, France, and Spain, where the heat of the sun is far greater, and where the most amorous tales have their first origin. None the less it may be seen that love's influence is no less potent here than in the aforementioned regions . . . ." With this reassuring flourish begins the second volume of K. L. Rahbek's pioneer book, *Dansk og Norsk Nationalværk*, which did for Danish popular literature what the enthusiastic Görres had done for German two decades before.[1] The literature which Rahbek thus revived is ample proof that northern winds and chilly summers are indeed insufficient to dampen a romantic taste in literature, no matter what they may or may not do to the "flame of love." By the time the first printing presses began to work in Denmark, the grim age of the sagas was long past, and people of all classes welcomed the lighter literature of the South in this new and more accessible form. Just as in contemporary Flanders,[2] the Danish readers took delight in Arthurian romance, Carolingian epic, tales of virtue in distress, and Novellen from Italy retold in vernacular prose; the chief difference is that whereas the Flemings received their material from France, the Danes obtained theirs by way of Germany or Sweden. Both literatures are alike quaint in their adaptation of these "amorous tales" to a new age and a different national feeling. No matter what the tale; no matter how worldly or even scandalous it might be, it was usually fitted out with a moral title page, calculated to convince the doubting reader that the purpose of the little volume was after all to instruct. Some-

[1] Copenhagen, 1828–30.

[2] See the author's article, "French Romance in Early Flemish Prints," *Germanic Review*, I (1926), 168 ff.

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times this end was further served by the prefixing of short, rhymed sermons, apparently of Danish manufacture. Though the intention was laudable, the poetry was usually bad beyond words. This tendency to attach a moral to the lightest literature was, of course, not peculiar to Denmark; but nowhere else was it more amusingly manifest.

In particular, it seems, the authors, translators and printers of that time were anxious to uplift womankind. In innumerable prefaces and title pages they assure us that their stories are intended as examples to all "honorable women" ("af huilken Historia alle gode Quinder maa tage god lærdom" says the exordium of an early print of *Griseldis*).[3] Best adapted to the purpose were the numerous medieval tales of female virtue sorely tested and triumphantly vindicated, in which the heroine's patience is held up as an example for imitation. The more horrible the sufferings which the unfortunate lady endured, the more attractive the tale was supposed to be. Witness a few title pages: "A pleasant and delightful story of the Emperor Octavian, his wife, and two sons; how she was first driven into exile by her dear husband the Emperor Octaviano, by reason of the false suggestion and report of a wicked counsellor; also how her two children were stolen from her, one by a lion and one by a large ape, while she in her utter misery lay and slept; likewise how they were all wondrously reunited and mutually made known to one another at the court of the pious King Dagobert in France."[4] Another: "The wondrous and yet very pleasant history of Helen the Patient of Constantinople, who long time suffered great poverty, sorrow, and affliction; for at the age of sixteen she had to flee the paternal court because her own father wished to marry her: very delightful and yet in parts sad enough to read . . . ."[5] Here is the title of a volume of two tales: "Two stories, pleasant and profitable to read: the first con-

[3] Colophon: Prentet i Lybeck hos Asswerus Krøger, 1592.

[4] Copenhagen, 1658. Reprinted in *Danske Folkebøger*, edited by J. P. Jacobsen, Jørgen Olrik, and R. Paulli, Copenhagen, 1919, Vol. IV. This excellent series, giving full introductions and bibliographical notes, will be henceforth designated DF.

[5] Copenhagen, 1677; DF, VIII. The romance of Helena reached Denmark from Germany, like most of the others. It was very popular as late as the nineteenth century.

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cerning Griseldis; the second concerning a doctor's daughter of Bononia; from which stories all honorable women may have good instruction and may especially learn patience." [6] Other popular tales of virtue in distress were the wager story which we find in Cymbeline,[7] the story of Genevieve of Brabant [8] (who is, however, called Melvida, although the other characters in the story retain their original names), and the story of the "dearly-bought" Isabella, a variant of the Pound of Flesh story, of which I shall have more to say elsewhere. A very curious sermon for wives is the tale of "Almazonte, the prudent wife who contrived by an excellent means to win back and capture her husband's alienated heart." [9] The "excellent means" employed by Almazonte is worth describing at some length, though its practical value is, it must be confessed, but slight.

The story is prefaced by the following general remarks: "Love is a passion of so strong moment that it is in general opposed to any rational measures. But strong though the torrent may be, it is not always wholly and quite impossible to hinder it in its full course, if one but contrive to deal carefully enough with it, as may be clearly seen from the following tale." [10] The hero is Raphane, a man happily married, who, becoming all too accustomed to his good fortune, permits his thoughts and finally his affection to wander to a girl with a good

[6] See No. 3; DF, VIII (1920), Introd. The Danish text was based apparently on a Low German translation, printed first in Lübeck (1480–90) and later in Hamburg (1502).

[7] En smuk Historie, om Tvende Kiøbmænd og om en Ærlig og Dyderig Qvinde, og hvorledes det gik den eene Kiøbmands Hustru udi hans Fraværelse, og hvad Falsk og Svig dem begge vederfaret er. Trykt Aar 1729. In the Royal Library, Copenhagen. See DF, IX (1923). The above edition contains a moral poem of which the first two lines are: Rettelig i denne Historie læres dig, At Verden er fuld af Falsk og Svig.

[8] En smuk Fortælling om en Fyrste, navnlig Sigfred og hans Gemahlinde Melvida. . . . Oversat af det Tydske ved Allerup, i Kallundborg, Kjøbenhavn. A late print, without date.

[9] Oversat paa Dansk, som et stykke af den Persiske Robinson, Kjøbenhavn, Tryck udi H.K.M. privileg. Bogtrykeri, 1729.

[10] P. 3: Kiærlighed er i Almindelighed, een saa sterk Affect, som ikke gierne, vil tage imod nogle Fornuftige Raisons. Alleeniste saa sterk endog denne Strøm flyder frem, saa er det dog ikke altid ganske og aldeelis Umuelig, at hindre den i sit fulde Løb, saafremt mand kun veed at føre sig forsigtig nok op derved: Som mand af Efterfølgende Historie klarligen kand see.

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voice, a taste for music, but little property. The girl herself is not particularly elated over her conquest ("over denne hendes erhvervede Seyer og Conqvete"), but her mercenary mother urges her to lure him on because he is wealthy. Raphane's visits become more and more frequent; tongues begin to wag, and finally Almazonte hears about it.[11] Wise woman that she is, she knows that no man can be brought back into harness too suddenly, and merely asks her husband if it is prudent, all things considered, to make so many visits to the musical young lady. Their dialogue is eminently civilized and polite,[12] but he continues the visits. Further gentle remonstrance being unavailing, she has recourse to the "excellent means" mentioned on the title page: she sends all sorts of rich gifts,—furniture, clothing, stuffs, and the like,—to the humble dwelling of her rival, as if they came from an unknown admirer. This arouses the interest of the girl, the cupidity of the mother, and the jealousy of Raphane, who finds himself much less welcome than of yore. The gifts and serenades from the unseen cavalier continue; but one day Raphane receives a letter from a "noble lady" (unsigned), telling him that she is the sender of the gifts; she loves him, and wishes merely to make the place to which he so often goes more attractive for his sake. Her messenger refuses to divulge her identity, but consents to take a reply to her. Thus begins a correspondence which not only consoles his vanity, but transfers his interest from the musical young lady to the fair unknown. Finally he receives a bunch of beautiful flowers on his birthday, and decides to consult a preternaturally sagacious friend, who straightway guesses that the fair correspondent is Almazonte herself. Raphane takes the flowers to his wife as a present; her agitation betrays her, and he graciously receives her into favor again. The concluding moral is: "This example of Almazonte may serve as instruction to all women

[11] What she heard was "at hendes Mand havde en anden Maistresse foruden hende!"

[12] Raphane says: "at hand ikke vilde haabe, at mand skulde vilde forbyde ham at besøge een Person, som fortreffelig vel forstod Musiqven, hvilket hand fra Barns Been op havde vaeret en stor Elskere af." She replies that she hopes "at hand paa sin Side var alt for Raisonabel og Fornuftig til at tilstede, at mand stial hende hans Hierte fra." This quaint language is quite untranslatable.

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who wish to recapture their husbands' lost hearts; for just as we are unaccustomed to catch hares by the beating of drums, or gnats with vinegar, so we can ill expect to draw another's heart by reproaches alone, or constant weeping and crying." The author rather unwisely holds up as examples some justly celebrated but not particularly virtuous ladies of antiquity: "Circe, the Queen of Sparta, the Queen of Egypt, and many another would never have been so greatly loved as they were, if they had not heeded this wisdom. Oh! How may not a man be heartened by a quiet, gentle, simple nature . . ." [13] and so forth. The author writes with what seems like tell-tale feeling; but his sermon was probably no more than conventional rhetoric on a very conventional theme.

Even stories of not very admirable ladies were translated and printed for the purpose of encouraging their sisters to be virtuous. In other words, what did not serve as an "example" could be put forth as a "warning," and so the way was open for literature of many sorts, both from the Middle Ages and the Renascence. That old favorite, the *Seven Sages of Rome*, was printed as: "The History of Emperor Pontianus and his Son Diocletian: very pleasant to read as a warning against the Falseness of Women." [14] The "subtle historye" of Tancred and Sigismunda [15] is excellently calculated, according to the preface, to teach what are the unfortunate results of amorous intrigue. The translator of this tale was apparently a very practical person, for when he came to the description of Sigismunda's widowhood at the beginning, he added to his German source:

[13] Pp. 22–23: Dette Almazonte Exempel kand tiene de Koner til Lærdom, som ønsker at vinde deres Mænds forlorne Hierter tilbage igien; Thi ligesom mand ikke pleyer at fange Harer ved Trommeslag, eller Myg i Viin-Edikke, saa drager mand og neppe et Hierte til sig med blot Klage, stedse varende hylen, og Græden. . . . Circe, Dronningen i Sparta, Dronningen i Ægypten, og andre mange fleere, havde aldrig været saa høyt Elsked, som de vare, dersom de ikke havde taget denne Lærdom i Agt. O! hvad kand ikke et stille, Sagtmodig, og eenfoldig Væsen opmuntre et Menniske . . ." etc.

[14] Keyser Pontiani historie med hans Søn Diocletiano/ Lystig at læse/ imod Quindernis wtroskaff; oldest print Rostock, 1591. See DF, II (1916).

[15] En suptilig Historia bescreffuen om Sigismunda Tancredi Daatter aff Salernia/ og den vnge Guischardo. Nu nyligen vdgaaen paa Prent igen/ oc saare lystig at læse/ for dennem der haffuer lyst til. Rostock, 1591. Reprinted, DF, IX (1923). This text also reached Denmark by way of a Low German translation.

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"If Tancredus had straightway provided his daughter with a second husband, that would have been the very best thing." The highly erotic tale of Euryolus and Lucretia by Aeneas and Sylvius Piccolimini, later Pope Pius II,[16] was not especially adapted to the inculcation of morals, nor did the translator attempt to use it for that purpose. Neither was the mercilessly condensed version of *Melusine*[17] which reached Denmark in the seventeenth century converted into a sermon, as it well might have been (perhaps because in this case the sermon would necessarily have been directed against *masculine* curiosity!); the author contents himself with the remark that he wrote the story in order to give occupation to his native industry. The two Greek romances, on the other hand, *Theagenes og Chariclea*[18] and *Kong Appolonius*,[19] gave excellent opportunity for common-

[16] En lystig oc sandrue Historie/ om tvende kierlige Mennesker Euriolo oc Lucretia/ i hvilken Kierligheds rette Vilkor/ Sødhed oc Bitterhed/ Vellyst oc Sorrig/ ere flitelige antegned oc befattit. Beskreffven paa skiøn Latinisk-maal/ af den Høylærede Poeta Enea Sylvio/ den tid Keyserlige Secretario. Nu først fordansket oc tryct i dette Aar. [Wood-cut] Tryck i Kiøbenhaffn aff Jørgen Lamprecht Aar 1668.

[17] En smuk lystig Historie/ om Melusine/ Dog saare ynckeligt oc bedrøffveligt paa det sidste at læse. [Wood-cut] Prentet Aar 1667.—The earliest extant print is of 1613 (*Cf.* DF, VII, 1918). The wood-cut on the title-page of the 1667 edition represents Melusine, from the middle down a scaly fish with a huge tail curling up behind her. Her hands are folded on what would under normal circumstances be her waist, and her face wears an indescribable smirk. Other romances that were retold with a minimum of moralizing are: *Flores og Blanseflor* (DF, VI, 1925), *Den skønne Magelona* (DF, VII, 1918), *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, or the tale of Parthenope of Blois (DF, VI, 1925), and *Vigoleis*, from the German *Wigalois* (DF, V, 1921).

[18] En meget skiøn oc lystig Historie/ Om/ Tuende Førstelige Personer/ Theagene oc Chariclia/ huilcke aff en tuctig oc tilbørlig Kierlighed haffue inderlige elskt hinanden. Huorvdaff mand met synderlig lyst kand see oc erfare Lyckens vstadighed/ oc huor mangfoldige oc afskillige wlycke oc fare de haffue vdstaaet/ oc endelig huor alting er kommen til en Lycksalig oc ynskelig ende met dennem. [Wood-cut] Prentet Aar 1636.—See DF, III (1917). This is an unusual attempt to make the Greek romance—reduced to one-tenth of its original bulk—a piece of popular literature. The Danish version is probably derived from a German original, though it coincides precisely with none now extant.

[19] En Deylig og Skjøn Historie/ om Kong Appolonis/ I hvilken Lyckens Hiul/ og Verdens Ustadighed bescrives/ lystig og nyttelig at læse og høre. [Wood-cut] Kiøbenhafn/ Tryckt af Willads Iersin/ Univ. Bogf. Aar 1708. (In the Royal Library, Copenhagen.) The earliest extant copy, printed in Rostock without date, is of the late sixteenth century, apparently. Since no German original is known, there is a possibility that it was translated from the Latin direct. See DF, III (1917).

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place remarks about the fickleness of Fortune and the instability of earthly joy. The preface to *Apollonius* contains a further piece of edification ("Betænkelse") to be derived from reading the story: an instructive comparison of the trials and tribulations of Apollonius himself to the estate of marriage, which deserves to be quoted entire:

"In the second place it appears that this book may serve as a consolation and warning to married folk, for Apollonius had such ill fortune in his marriage that his wife Lucina died on the ship and was cast over-board, his daughter was sold into the hands of a procurer, and he himself was tossed from one misfortune to another, and met with exceeding great adversity, and yet at last his suffering had a fair ending; he returned to his country and his rule, found his wife and daughter once more, and thus regained all he had lost: in like manner may not married folk reflect that wedlock too will not be without sorrow and tribulation, and that God with His gracious help will console and comfort them, and grant them a happy ending at last, and therefore may they not bear and endure patiently all manner of oppression and need, with the firm hope that it will finally be better, Amen."

The rambling adventure story of Fortunatus and his hat came to Denmark from Germany equipped with a moral conclusion to the effect that Fortunatus should have chosen wisdom instead of riches when he had the opportunity; but one would have to look long and hard in the narrative itself to detect any genuine attempt to edify. The Danish translation [20] omits this belated sermon at the end, but on the other hand expresses the pious hope on the title page that from this tale "every man may learn wisdom and good sense ("fornumftighed") which is more to be desired than all the riches in this world, according to each man's form and estate."

A strange example of an adventure story, in itself not particularly moral, which is nevertheless used to edify, is the "curious historical description of the Englishman Joris Pines;

[20] En lystig Historie om Fortunatus Pung Og hans Ønske-Hat. [A wood-cut of Dame Fortune, clad in a seventeenth-century wired skirt, giving the purse to the hero.] Kjøbenhavn. Tryckt af Just Høg Acad. Bogtr. og findis hos hannem til kjøbs/ Anno 1695. The text reprinted in DF, X (1927), is somewhat earlier, but undated.

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how, after an unhappy journey and shipwreck, he was cast ashore with four women ("Qvindes-personer") upon the Pinesian Island, which never before had been inhabited. And how he had by the aforementioned four women (of whom one was a Moor) 47 children, who so multiplied that in his eightieth year, which was 60 years after his arrival in that land, he numbered 1789 souls as his descendants." [21] The Volksbuch purports to be the narrative of the remarkable Joris himself, who tells us, not without pious ejaculations and moral reflections, about his marvelous escape and no less marvelous achievement of happy marriage with all the four women who survived with him. He does not deny that their complaisance was agreeable to him, but he insists that his own children must marry monogamously, "for at forhindre al Løsagtighed." And nothing could be so pious and moral, even to the point of smugness, as his speech to his 565 descendants upon his sixtieth birthday. Finally it must be mentioned that the Volksbuch of Faust was translated as a warning to men to keep away from bargains with the devil, and as a bit of Protestant propaganda.[22]

Of all the romantic tales which were retold for the Danish public, none underwent a more astonishing metamorphosis than the Tristan story, which reappeared in the eighteenth century in an extremely moral guise.[23] If Richardson had written a voluminous, sentimental tale of a virtuous Tristan and an Isolde who was a second Pamela, the result could not have been more foreign to the Middle Ages, or more completely imbued with the most absurd heroics of eighteenth century fiction. This book, like so many of the others, must have been translated or

[21] "Trykt Aar 1733."

[22] Dend i dend gandske Verden bekiende Ertz-Sort-Konstner og Trold Karl D. Johan Faust og hans med Diævelen oprættede Forbund/ Forundringsfulde Levnet og forskreckelig Ending, beskreven af en Christelig Meenende paa nye efterseet, Og alle mutvillige Syndere til en hjertelig Formaning og Advarsel til Trycken befordret/ Oversat af det Tydske Sprog ved N.F.B. Aar 1732. There is mention, p. 5, of "dend paa de Tider i dend Papistiske Formørkelse for Lutheri *Reformation* gaaende Signerie, Beværelse og Bandsættelse. . . ."

[23] En meget smuk Historie om den ædle og tappre Tistran, en burgundisk Hertugsøn, og den skiønne og dydige Indiane, Keiserens og store Moguls Datter af Indien. Contained in K. L. Rahbek, *Norsk Nationalværk eller almendelig ældgammel Morskabslæsning*, Kjøbenhavn 1830, III, 191–304. An edition of 1792 is in the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

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paraphrased from a German original, as numerous details of phraseology and word-order show; but now it exists only in the Danish version. The author appears to have used the material of the seventeenth century prose romance of Tristan in German, and some details independently derived from Gottfried,[24] but he treats his sources with what seems to us an unholy freedom. Nearly all of the proper names are changed beyond recognition. King Mark has become Alfons of Spain, who, after losing his wife, has publicly acknowledged his nephew Tistran as heir. Morholt is now Kunchin, son of the Emperor of India, who invades Spain with a huge army and demands tribute of Alfons under humiliating conditions, unless the latter contrives to defeat him, either n person or through a representative, in single combat. Tistran leaps forward and answers Kunchin's messenger with the heroic defiance: "Tell him that I will meet him on whatever day he may appoint, and make proof if he is as strong as he is bold. Here is my steel gauntlet as pledge!" King Alfons is sad at the danger which now threatens his nephew, but Tistran consoles him with a piece of theological determinism: "If it is God's will that the kingdom be saved, it may as easily be done by me alone as by many others." Nevertheless, he adds with a laudable concession to common sense, it would be well to have the army ready in case God's will did not work out as they desired: "so that if by chance I should be unfortunate, they can attack the foe at once." [25] The result of the combat is, to be sure, favorable to Spain; Kunchin is killed, and the heathen army, with its elephants and camels, withdraws to India, but Tistran is sorely wounded, and the poison on his foe's weapon prevents healing. Having heard that Indiane, the betrothed of Kunchin, is skilled in treating poisons, he visits India in disguise, with his faithful "Hovmester," and is cured without being recognized. Upon his return the jealousy of Roderick, another nephew of the King, endangers Tistran's life and threatens the country with civil war, so that Tistran himself urges the King to marry: "I believe that a gentleman like your Majesty, who is not yet thirty years old, would do

[24] Wolfgang Golther, *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit*, Leipzig 1907, pp. 248 ff.

[25] P. 198 (ed. Rahbek).

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wisely in taking a consort. . . . Your Majesty knows the joys of marriage better than I do," [26] urges the modest hero. So it is that Tistran is sent to woo Indiane for his uncle. Of course the Princess has secretly been reared as a Christian, despite her Indian ancestry! From this point on to the drinking of the love-potion the story is not unlike its medieval ancestor; but the conversation which follows between the two lovers is very different indeed. Tistran and Indiane are firmly resolved to be virtuous: "Oh, if I may only love the fair Indiane, my happiness is complete!" exclaims he. She answers: "I could not withstand the union of our two hearts, so far as virtue and propriety permit". At this Tistran sighed and said: "An ardent lover is satisfied only by the complete possession of the object loved"; but she interrupts him and reminds him of the duty they owe to the king and society, which must necessarily restrict their love to a refined and elevated friendship, at least, until the King dies! This is the task before them.

And with truly edifying self-restraint they discharge it. Hence many changes in the plot. The scene enacted in the garden for the King's benefit is not essentially false, but merely a measure of self-protection against the calumnies of Roderick; Tistran's leap to the Queen's bedside has no more reprehensible purpose than the imprinting of a kiss upon her hand (but unfortunately his nose bleeds during the process); when Tistran rescues her from the leper she regrets that she was not rather killed, since the rescue has surely ruined her reputation beyond repair; the drawn sword which King Alfons sees between them represents no mere fortunate accident, but an established custom; the oath of innocence imposed upon the Queen requires no ambiguity, for the simple reason that she has nothing to conceal. Finally Tistran marries Inanda, the Princess of France, and both he and the Queen of Spain settle down to fairly contented married life. Both families are blessed with children, but unfortunately Inanda on one occasion discovers her husband kissing the portrait of Indiane, and thereafter she becomes cold and jealous. In his last interview with the Queen of Spain, Tistran complains of this unfortunate state of affairs, and

[26] Pp. 212–213.

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receives the following sermon in reply: "Noble Tistran! If my portrait is to blame for the unhappiness in your marriage, cast it away, and do not permit the memory of me to extinguish the love that you owe your consort!" She describes her own present happiness, and concludes: "Virtue can subdue a love unfitting to high personages, whose honor may not suffer the least spot." When these exemplary lovers die they leave children behind who intermarry, and thus bring about the political union of France and Spain.[27] Seldom has a piece of literary tradition been more violently deflected from its original course than in this middle-class travesty of the great medieval romance.

II

Not all of the tales which circulated in popular editions were concerned primarily with romance and the virtues of women. There were more martial tales as well, in which warfare and valiant combats with the (usually) heathen foe were the chief themes; but these were also imported ultimately from Southern Europe, and not based upon the heroic traditions of Danish antiquity. The cycle of Dietrich von Berne yielded *Kong Laurins Krønike*,[28] which is derived from the Middle High German poem as final source, although a lost Low German version may have intervened. The Danish, in its turn, was translated into Icelandic,[29] and transformed from verse to prose. The tale concerns an encounter of Dietrich and his men with Dwarf Laurin, owner of a magic rose-garden; their temporary discomfiture at his hands, and their ultimate triumph. In general, the tone of the Danish narrative is more hilarious; in

[27] Golther, *op. cit.*, p. 252, uses this conclusion to date the composition of the romance: "Nachdem in Spanien die Herrschaft der Hapsburger durch die der Bourbonen abgelöst worden war, konnte ein Roman vom Bund Spaniens und Frankreichs berichten."

[28] En lystig og skiøn Historie om en Kiæmpe, Som kaldes Kong Laurin, som var ikke uden tre Spande lang, Saare lystig at læse og at høre: [Wood-cut of Laurin in crown and robes] Trykt Aar 1737. This exists also in a Danish MS. of ca. 1500; DF, VI (1925).

[29] Royal Library, Copenhagen, MS. Kall. 613, fol. 185 ff.: Laurins Kongs Chronika edur skemtelig og fögur Fraasaga um þan Konung sem kalladist Laurin Konungr og var ei nema þriggia spana laangr miøg gamansom at lesa og heyra. Prentud aa Aarenu 1714 (En nu wr Dønsku Maale wtløgd aa Isslendsku ad Søndum i Midfirde Anno 1743).

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fact, it verges on the burlesque more than once. A typical instance is the taunting boast of Vidrik Verland's son to his master, who has just been put to shame by Laurin's strength:

> My Lord! Of the little dwarf have thou no fear
> Who has left his burg and joined us here:
> Though ye draw back from him in fright
> I shall prove you that I'm his like.
> No greater fear of him have I
> Than of a hundred mice or such small fry! [30]

The Danish poem has abbreviated its source mercilessly, especially towards the end; there is only one significant detail added, but that is an excellent one. When "Didrik" is fighting with Laurin, the latter suddenly vanishes from his sight, to the great discomfiture of the champion of Bern. It is admittedly trying to receive blows from an invisible enemy, and not be able to return them. At this point, wise Master Hildebrand gives him some good advice:

> Wouldst thou have the dwarf receive thy blows
> Strike where he moves the grass as he goes!

Didrik thereupon watches for the pressure of his unseen opponent's feet on the grass, and thus contrives to catch him by the belt.

The cycle of Charlemagne is represented by a very much condensed version of *The Four Sons of Aimon*, a *Chronicle of Charlemagne*, and *Olger Danske*. The first of these [31] is so brief as to have lost all of the epic proportions and effectiveness of the French *chanson de geste*. It is noteworthy that Maugis d'Aigremont appears in this version under his Low German name Malegys, thus indicating once more the channels through which Denmark received her fiction; but the character himself is the same, showing none of the mischievous vulgarity and burlesque irreverence attributed to him in the amusing Dutch prose *Maleghijs*. The other two Danish Carolingian

[30] Rasmus Nyerup, *Almindelig Morskabslæsning*, Copenhagen, 1816, p. 74.

[31] En meget smuk Historie om de fire Heymonsbørn, Ritsart, Writsart, Adelhart og Reinold. Efter manges Begjæring af det tydske Tungemaal udsat paa Dansk. Kjøbenhavn. Trykt i dette Aar. (N.D.) Only 64 pages.

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romances are far more ambitious than the *Heymonsbørn*. The *Krønike om Keiser Carl Magnus*[32] is a cyclic treatment of stories of Charlemagne and his peers, based apparently upon the first recension of the Old Norse Karlamagnussaga by way of a Swedish intermediary,[33] but not coinciding with the saga in all respects. The Danish redactor not only abbreviated and omitted much that came to him from the saga, but he also preserved some parts—for instance, the conclusion of Ogier's story—which are missing in the saga as we have it to-day. Very interesting is his treatment of Book I, which concerns the conspiracy against Charlemagne's life soon after his accession to the throne. According to the Saga (which here used a lost chanson de geste), Karl was commanded by an angel to go forth and steal one night in the company of a thief named Basin, and in the course of his adventure he overheard an account of the plot which was being laid against him by Renfrei of Tungr. The former thief became a favorite of Karl, and the traitor was defeated by him in combat. This is recorded briefly but on the whole faithfully in the Danish Chronicle. Basin's name, however, is changed to Alegast, although the villain remains Remfred of Tunger. The change proves beyond a doubt that the redactor also knew the story in the Low German version, where hero and villain are Alegast and Eckerich von Eckermunde respectively.[34] In the Middle Dutch poem devoted to this episode alone, their names are Elegast and Eggeric of Eggermonde. Basin, magician and thief, was a well-known character in the French chansons de geste, famous for his ability to break into locked rooms, to steal treasure, and to cast a magic sleep upon persons he wished to rob. So he appears in our saga, and

[32] Keyser Carl Magnus Krønike. Hvorledis hand stridde mandelige for den hellige christelige Tro med de tolff Jeffninge som var Roland, Oliver, Turpin Erkebiskop, oc andre flere som her efter følger. 1656. (In Karen Brahe's library.) Reprinted a number of times: see *Bibliotheca Danica* IV, 1902, under "Folkebøger." Modern editions: Carl Elberling, *Danske Folkebøger paany udgivne*, Copenhagen 1867, I; Rahbek, *Dansk og Norsk Nationalværk*, Copenhagen 1828–30, I; C. J. Brandt, *Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen*, Copenhagen, 1877, III.

[33] Gustav Storm, *Sagnkredsene om Karl den Store og Didrik af Bern hos de nordiske Folk*, Kristiania, 1874, pp. 160 ff. The sources of the saga are discussed in the first chapter of Storm's book.

[34] *Karl Meinet*, ed. Adelbert von Keller, Stuttgart, 1858 (Bibl. des lit. Vereins XLV), pp. 575–606.

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so he appears also in *Jehan de Lanson*,[35] where one of the characters remarks, with (we hope) humorous exaggeration:

> En ma chambre m'enbla mon coffre et mon florin,
> Et trestous mes abis jusqu' à braies de lin,
> Que tout nu me trouvai quant ce vint au matin.

It is significant that in a Middle Dutch fragment of a translation of *Jehan de Lanson*, the name Basin is once more replaced by Elegast.[36] A Dutch scholar, Marie Ramondt, has proved that Alegast is a composite figure, uniting the characteristics of master-thieves, dwarfs, and outlaws, besides the chivalrous personality of a knight of Charlemagne.[37]

The Krønike contains material corresponding to Turpin's chronicle, the story of Agolandus, *Aspremont*, the *Chanson des Sesnes*, *Otuel*, *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*, *Ogier le Danois*, *Chanson de Roland*, and a very brief, almost unrecognizable two pages or so on the Knight of the Swan. Many of the deviations from the French sources as we know them are due to the Saga (which in its turn used Norman or Anglo-Norman intermediaries, as the forms of proper names show). One of the changes due to the Danish adapter concerns the Princess of Constantinople, who was the subject of Oliver's unseemly boast in the *Pèlerinage*. It was entirely in accord with the broad comedy of the French poem that Oliver should ride away and flippantly leave her behind, despite the promises he made when he needed her help. Scandinavian translators apparently found this behavior unforgivable; or they felt a great sympathy for the young lady. The Sagaman relented so far as to say (untruthfully, we fear), "The book does not tell if she went with him." Thus it was possible to surmise that perhaps she did. In the Chronicle the change is complete: the Princess marries Oliver and goes home with him, and presumably lives happily ever after. Both Saga and Chronicle deliberately omit that unadmirable exploit of Ogier's youth, the seduction of his host's daughter, very likely

[35] *Hist. Lit. de la France*, XXII, Paris, 1852, pp. 568–83.

[36] See J. te Winkel, *Geschiedenis der nederlandsche Letterkunde*, Haarlem, 1922, I, 240.

[37] *Karel ende Elegast oorspronkelijk?* Utrecht, 1917; see also Josef Quint's edition of *Der mitteldeutsche Elegast*, Bonn, 1927, Introd.

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because it was told of a hero called "le Danois"; but they repeat the late story about Roland's birth, which makes him the son of Charlemagne by the Emperor's own sister. The Chronicle says: "Siden foer Keiseren hjem til Erinborg, der var hans Søster Gellem hos ham, han havde hende kjær, og af Djevelens Inskydelse [the Icelandic makes no mention of the devil!] avlede han et Barn med hende." The episode is so like the story of Modred's birth that one is led to assume a connection; but Axel Olrik has pointed out [38] a general tendency to attribute this origin to great heroes, especially if they are to be the last of their dynasty. Charlemagne, like Arthur, is ashamed of his deed. For a long time he will not confess it to his spiritual father, Egidius. The *Karl Meinet* also reports a youthful sin of the Emperor's which he long kept concealed from the same holy man, but it uses a different sin, and describes it at much greater length.[39]

The Chronicle does not stop with the death of Roland at Runcival; there is a short conclusion in which Ogier is once more the chief character, so that patriotic Danish readers might feel that their country had contributed a champion no less important than the Emperor's nephew himself. In fact, the eulogy of Charlemagne over Roland rather gives the impression that devotion to Denmark was one of the chief virtues of Roland as well! "When the Emperor had avenged his friends' death, he remained there over night; in the morning he rode to Runtseval again and discovered where Roland was sitting with his sword in one hand and the horn in the other. With great sorrow he went to him, kissed him, and said, "Blessed be thou, Roland, dead as well as living: thy like was never born; *thou wert a good friend of God and of the Danes!*" Then he fell down and swooned, so that many thought he was dead." [40] But Ogier—called of course by his Danish name Olger—sprinkles the Emperor with water and revives him. After that there is a final war in Saxony; Charles's son Carlot wrongfully fights

[38] *The Heroic Legends of Denmark*, New York, 1919, pp. 278 ff.

[39] *Karl Meinet*, pp. 487–494: how Karl had the corpse of one of his concubines embalmed, and continued to sleep with her until his chamberlain found a ring—source of the baleful influence on the Emperor—hidden in her hair, and removed it.

[40] *Krønike*, p. 181.

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Olger, but is killed by him; Olger is imprisoned (not for the first time!), and emerges after three years to do his last battle against the heathen. Then the Danish champion at last goes home, "and after that he became King in his father's, King Gøttrik's, stead, as is written in the great chronicle of Denmark by Saxo Grammaticus." [41]

This natural desire to make of Ogier a truly Danish hero, and to give him a place in the dynasty of native Kings, was more fully expressed in the lengthy and popular book devoted to him alone, which dates from the early sixteenth century. *Kong Olger Danskes Krønike* [42] became immediately a popular book in every sense of the word; the people who read *Volksbücher* accepted it as a national epic in prose; its French origin was in great part forgotten, and the doughty Olger or Holger became the idol of all Danish readers. His popularity is attested by the frequent use of Holger as given name for boys to this very day; the more amusing, this, since the epithet *Danois* in French may have arisen from a misunderstanding of a quite different adjective, having nothing to do with Denmark or the Danes.[43] But whatever philology may have to say on the subject, the Peer of Charlemagne was completely naturalized in the North, and quite indigenous tales grew up about him in Denmark. The translator, Christian Pedersen, seems to have desired this result quite consciously. In his introduction ("Fortale") addressed to the Christian reader, he assures us that Olger was no other than Oluf, son of Gøttrik, the eighty-eighth king in Denmark according to Saxo Grammaticus; and he tries to forestall possible objections to this bold identification. He brushes aside the question: Why was so mighty a national hero ignored in native accounts, by the rather weak reply that perhaps others no less famous in their day have been forgotten as well. To the objection that the exploits attributed to his hero are incredible in the extreme he answers with the rather two-edged argument: Just read of the exploits recorded in the Bible! He tells us that he was moved to investigate the litera-

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

[42] Rahbek, *Nationalværk*, I; also ed. Nils Hansen, Copenhagen, 1878, with ntroduction.

[43] See L. Gautier, *Épopées Fr.*, Paris, 1892, 310 ff.

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ture that could be found concerning this admirable champion; "and I found it at last in Paris in France, printed in French. So I first had it translated into Latin, for which I paid down money and gold, since I could not myself understand the French language. . . . And it is recorded in the Latin chronicle which is called the *Fasciculus Temporum*, how Olger Danske conquered India the Great, as far East as the end of the world, up to the Tree of the Sun . . . ." The romance which he used was of course not the rugged, martial chanson de geste, but the romantic French prose tale which, among other fantastic additions, actually gave to Ogier's friend Carvel the honor of introducing Christianity to Prester John's Kingdom of the East.

It is in the latter part of the romance that the greatest changes have been made. The stalwart hero of Christendom, who had been battered in so many combats against the heathen, is transported to the East, where new and strange adventures—not all of them heroic—are fastened upon him. He is sent from Rhodes to Africa with a letter commanding his death: this is apparently an attempt to use the popular formula of the Exchanged Letter which Shakspere made famous in *Hamlet;* but Ogier is not permitted to modify the letter as Hamlet did. Instead he merely opens it after he is shipwrecked, and "undrede han storligen derpaa." He has further adventures in Babylon, and then of a sudden he steps straight from the chansons de geste into the realm of Arthurian romance! In an orchard outside a certain castle he eats an apple which makes him feel very ill. Then a fair lady appears before him. He hails her as Maria, but she answers with the simplicity of the old English ballad: "jeg er ikke Maria . . . men jeg er Jomfru Morgua, som var hos dig i din Fødsels-Time."[44] King Arthur greets the new arrival in this fairy-land which is so remote from the brusque society of Charles's court; and reference is made to the belief that the two champions "will come at the Last Day and fight against Antichrist and his warriors, just as Enoch and Elias will come and preach against him." But in the meantime Arthur and Olger remain in the earthly paradise of Morgua.

[44] Rahbek, I, 250. The French romance tells of the visit of Morgue to Ogier at his birth, and her prophecy that he would one day come to her in her castle Davallon; but the Danish omits this earlier episode. See Hansen's ed., introd.

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One visit back to earth is granted to the Danish hero. Morgua permits him to go, and gives him a light that will burn as long as he is to live, and a ring which will preserve his youthful semblance despite the two hundred years that have passed away among mortals. Olger finds the world sadly changed. The old heroic race is dead; men have degenerated into weaklings; everywhere he is received with incredulous wonder because of his thews and strength, and with ridicule because of his claim to be the ancient champion Olger. This part of the story is remarkably well told. The returned hero finally discovers a sympathetic auditor in the person of an abbot, in an abbey that Olger himself had founded; he tells his story there: "jeg haver været i Paradiis i 200 Aar; der aad jeg den sødeste Frugt, som nogen kan smage; der er Jomfru Morgua, hun gav mig dette Lys . . . ." The light is to be guarded in the sacristy while Olger goes forth to work new miracles of prowess for the unworthy race that has come after him. Chastened by the laughter that has greeted him, he now calls himself merely the "Ancient Knight."

The end is quite effective. The frivolous and outspoken queen then ruling in France finally persuades Olger to marry her, after her husband has conveniently died. The wedding is to take place in the abbey where Olger's light is burning. "As they stood before the church door about to be wedded, there came a beautiful lady clad in white robes, and took Olger into her embrace, and mounted up into the sky with him. No man could see or know what became of him after that." Though this seems impossible, says the author, it is true. He who wrote the French chronicle reports that Olger was taken by God to Paradise and will fight against Antichrist on Doomsday.

In a very interesting article, "Holger Danske og Antichrist," H. F. Feilberg [45] has collected a number of local legends now current in Denmark concerning the return of this naturalized hero, either at a time of great need (as in the case of Arthur and Friedrich Barbarossa), or just before Doomsday. The portents which are to announce the final appearance of Olger are similar to those described in many other tales of the return of a hero

[45] *Danske Studier*, XVII, 1920, 97–125.

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or Messias as a leader of God's people in their last fight against the powers of evil. Very often a withered tree blooms again to announce the second coming, and this portent too is expected in the case of Olger. So the apotheosis of our hero is great indeed: after having been made a Dane and a fortunate inhabitant of Lady Morgua's earthly paradise of Davallon, he is expected to appear finally as a savior and to fight side by side with Christ against the warriors of Satan on the Last Day. Until then Olger bides his time, and different legends assign his resting-place to different parts of Denmark. One of the prettiest of them tells that he is sitting under the castle of Elsinore awaiting the time when his adopted country will need him again. And the place is not unworthy to harbor his ghost. When one stands on the parapet of Kronborg Slot and looks over the bright green waters towards the Swedish coast (which is clearly visible on a fair summer's day), one finds it fitting indeed that the grim peer of Charlemagne should have found a home by these Northern seas, where Viking ships once passed back and forth on their raids. The fresh breeze, the swooping sea-gulls, and the green Danish coast make one credulous of romance; it is easy to imagine that Olger is indeed sitting somewhere in the dungeons of the castle, armed and waiting, even though one's sober sense of reality tells one that the undeniably sixteenth century structure with its copper roof could no more have known the historical Ogier (if such there was), than it could have known that other Danish hero Amleth, whose traditional connection with Elsinore is far more widely celebrated throughout the world.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

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BOOK REVIEWS

Studien zur Mitteldeutschen Bibelübersetzung vor Luther. Von Friedrich Maurer. "Germanische Bibliothek," Zweite Abt. Untersuchungen und Texte 26. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1929.)

Studien zur Mittelalterlichen Bibelübersetzung. Von Walther Ziesemer. "Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft." (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1928.)

Friedrich Maurer's valuable *Studien* are chiefly concerned with the so-called Beheim translation of the gospels into Middle German, and with its relation to a thirteenth-century Harmony of the gospels which had its ramifications in Netherlandish, Middle German, and High German. The Beheim Gospels are preserved in a Leipzig manuscript (B) which its editor, Reinhold Bechstein (1867), considered to be the original. But Maurer has shown, in a previous publication, that it was derived from an older text of which another offshoot is extant in a fragmentary manuscript at Bensheim (F). In many passages, however, where B differs from F, it could be proved that the copyist of B took his variants from a Harmony of the gospels extant in a Munich MS. (M). A close cognate of M is the so-called Uffenbach Harmony (U) described by W. Lüdtke in *Orientalia Hamburgensia* (1926). Lüdtke also drew attention to a Middle Low German plenarium of 1390 in which the text of the pericopes is based on the Beheim version and which contains the same pericopes from the Epistles as are found in the Uffenbach MS. This intertwining of three different branches, gospel translation, Harmony, and Pericopes from the Epistles, leads to the conclusion that the traditions which they represent must, at some time, have converged in one common centre. To locate this centre is part of the task that Dr. Maurer has set himself. He believes that a copyist of the gospel translation added to this version the story of the passion from a MS. of the Harmony and incidentally amended the text of the gospels with variants from the Harmony. From the book thus amended a second copyist derived a collection of gospel pericopes which he turned into a complete lectionary by adding the pericopes from the Epistles. This plenarium was subsequently transcribed into Low German (O). The copyist of the Uffenbach Harmony, intending to make it serve as a plenarium, added this same Epistolary to his text together with an index of the gospel pericopes referring to the corresponding passages in the Harmony. The Beheim MS. was similarly intended as a substitute lectionary, as it also contains a list of pericopes with references to the pages where the lessons may be found. This adaptation of the Harmony to liturgical purposes supplied Dr. Maurer with a clue to the provenance of the various manuscripts. The assignments of the lessons to special saints and the arrangement of the pericopes were not uniform in the Middle Ages, but varied according to the diocese or to the monastic order for which the lectionaries were intended. A study of this feature of the MSS. has led the author to the conclusion that somewhere in the diocese of Magdeburg the gospel translation, the Harmony, and the Epistle pericopes became interlaced in the manner described above. The language of O squares with this conclusion. Its dialect belongs to the region where southern Low German was crossed with High German forms. It uses *mik* and *dik* for both dative and accusative, which is characteristic of the middle region between northern *mi*, *di* for both cases, and southern *mir*, *dir* for the dative and *mich*, *dich* for the accusative. The use of *Ostern* for L.G. *Paschen* also points to a place of origin in the southern

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part of the Magdeburg diocese. The Uffenbach text, on the other hand, must have been copied further west, most probably in the diocese of Mainz, from a manuscript of Magdeburg provenience. For it contains distinctly western forms in numerous words with o < u before n + cons., and its calendar mentions two local saints of Mainz, Bihildis and Theonestus. The Harmony of the Gospels, finally, was probably compiled in Dominican circles in Cologne. Its Netherlandish version, edited by J. Bergsma (1895) and now being edited anew by D. Plooij (*The Liège Diatessaron*), is evidently the original of the Middle and High German ones. Dominicans in the Magdeburg diocese, again, seem to have been responsible for the revision of the gospel translation with the aid of a Middle German version of the Harmony, as also for the compilation of the plenarium whose gospel pericopes were derived from that revised translation and augmented with Epistle pericopes of different and uncertain origin. The aim of the translators and distributors was evidently not hostile to the Church. They may have intended these books for the benefit of Dominican monks and nuns, or for the purpose of private devotion. We know, at any rate, that MS. B of the translation of the gospels was intended for the use of Matthias Beheim, recluse in Halle.

Walther Ziesemer's *Studien* take us to eastern Middle Germany. A comparison of Zainer's Augsburg edition (1475) of the German Bible with Johann Mentel's of 1466, on which it was based, shows that the text has undergone a thorough revision. Incorrect renderings of the earlier book were amended, Latinisms removed, archaisms replaced by current equivalents, and High German words by Middle German synonyms. Where Zainer differs from Mentel his variants often agree with east-German texts, such as the Story of the Apostles edited by Ziesemer in "Eine ostdeutsche Apostelgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts" (Halle, 1927) and the translation of the Prophets by Claus Cranc. It is not likely that Zainer has known these translations. His language was evidently influenced by the east-German Schriftsprache which in the 14th century had begun to react upon the literary standard of the west and the south. Cranc's translation has also many traits in common with Luther. But here again similarity of phrasing is not due to Luther's having made use of Cranc's text, but to his writing in that east-German prose style which, during the century preceding his time, had made headway as the literary *Koine*. Luther's Bible only accelerated a process that had started on its course long before his day.

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Andreas Müller. *Märchen: Erster Band* ("Deutsche Literatur: Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen"; Romantik, Band 14). Leipzig, 1930, Philipp Reclam., pp. 328.

This selection gives a good idea of the various forms of märchen we owe to the early Romanticists. In reviewing the material we may rearrange it according to the varying degrees of fidelity to oral tradition. In the first group stand Runge's two Low German tales, "Von den Machandel-Boom," and "Von den Fischer un syne Fru." Although these tales are written by a literary artist of great skill, they follow an idealized tradition closely in form and language. In the second group we have four tales collected by Jacob Grimm and four by his brother Wilhelm. Although Runge's märchen are the declared models for the brothers, we have only the story itself and not the dialect in their versions. A third group includes the literary fantasies of Clemens Brentano. His sources are tales which have already been rewritten in more or less sophisticated form, as notably in Giambattista Basile's

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Pentamerone. The literary märchen of Brentano are not entirely remote from oral tradition, but it is the oral tradition of Italy, not Germany, and that at second hand. A fourth group, exemplified by Bettina Brentano's *Der Königssohn*, is an entirely literary invention, although in the manner of oral märchen. And finally we have Fouqué's *Undine*, which is not märchen at all but *Sage*. As regards its attitude toward tradition, we might group it with the work of Clemens Brentano: both utilize a definite traditional tale. In the critical preface the varying attitudes of different Romanticists, especially Clemens Brentano and the brothers Grimm, are discussed.

The text is evidently collated with care. The most interesting discovery appears in the history of Runge's märchen. These märchen were written for the *Zeitung für Einsiedler* (1808), where "Von den Machandel-Boom" was actually printed before the discontinuance of the journal. The manuscript reached the brothers Grimm, who included the märchen in the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812), and Johann Georg Büsching, who printed the tales in the same year but in more correct form. After Runge's death a more highly elaborated form was found in his literary remains (*Hinterlassene Schriften*), whence the later editions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* after the fifth (1843) have taken their text. This history shows the care with which the brothers watched over the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. It shows also how that collection gradually diverged from oral tradition.

All in all, then, this volume is a useful piece of work. It brings a good selection of material; it throws new light on that material. The format is attractive.

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Dr. Douglas Yates, M.A., *Der Kontrast zwischen Kunst und Leben bei Grillparzer*, "Germanische Studien," Berlin, 1929.

It is the aim of this dissertation to explain all the works of Grillparzer from *Blanka von Kastilien* to *Der arme Spielmann* as a portrayal of the poet's struggle for a complete fulfillment of his mission as a dramatist. Hence Dr. Yates proceeds to find in all the characters of Grillparzer traits which the poet found in himself and considered regrettable, or other traits which he lacked but for which he envied other people. Likewise does he identify the problems in the plays with the problems in the life of the dramatist.

It is indeed astonishing to find how closely the life of Grillparzer, the artist and the lover, finds a reflection in his works. His youthful doubts, his great ambition to rank with Goethe and Schiller, his love affairs with Charlotte von Paumgartten, Kathi Fröhlich, and Marie Daffinger, his early success, and his final frustration and embitterment are convincingly identified by Dr. Yates with characters and situations in Grillparzer's works. He draws also very largely on the poems, letters, and diaries, and, since he knows his Grillparzer well, reveals many interesting relationships, some of them probably new even to Grillparzer scholars. Still, it cannot be said that he places the character of his subject in a new light.

The treatment of an author of the magnitude of Grillparzer under one aspect cannot help but seem a bit one-sided to most readers. I believe that Dr. Yates himself feels this and reveals it in passages that to my mind contradict his initially expounded thesis as stated on page 5: ". . . daß diese (Grillparzers) Werke keineswegs objektive Darstellungen allgemein menschlicher Probleme bieten, sondern in ihrem Ursprung ganz und gar subjektiv sind, daß sie alle im letzten Grunde als *Künstlerdramen* anzusehen sind." Let us compare with this proposition what he

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says on page 51 concerning *König Ottokars Glück und Ende:* "Es wäre falsch, zu behaupten, daß das Stück keine andern Gedanken als die im Vorhergehenden angedeuteten enthielte, oder daß es nicht im wahren Sinne des Wortes ein hochbedeutsames 'historisches' Stück sei." It does not seem convincing that Grillparzer himself served more directly as model for Ottokar than did Napoleon whose death occurred at St. Helena just a year before the publication of the play. And Dr. Yates surely stretches the usual meaning of the term *Künstlerdrama* if he applies it to *Weh dem, der lügt* and *Die Jüdin von Toledo.*

The point is well taken that Grillparzer's unhappy disposition and cramped life to an unusual degree colored his entire production, only in making his thesis too sweeping the author has fallen a victim to the necessity of proving something new in a doctoral dissertation.

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Franz Weichenmayr, *Dramatische Handlung und Aufbau in Hebbels Herodes und Mariamne.* "Bausteine zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur." Herausgegeben von Franz Saran, Band XXIV. Max Niemeyer Verlag. Halle, 1925. 100 pp.

In this book we have one more of a series of studies extending over a period of twenty years and devoted to the purpose of working out a more exact method of analyzing a drama. The chief aim is theoretical but the hope is also entertained that the method devised will ultimately lead to a more intelligent practice. Professor Saran, the general editor of the series in which most of these studies have appeared, gave the impetus to the new line of investigation. He set forth his ideas in a lecture on Goethe's *Iphigenie* (Halle, 1909). The most constructive of these was a clearer definition of the term *Handlung.* He defined as *Stoff* the material (story, legend, etc.) before the poet touches it; as *Fabel* the form in which it might be "told" after he modifies it; as *Drama* the *Fabel* prepared for representation by actors on the stage. (See Otto Spiess: Die dramatische Handlung in Lessings „ Emilia Galotti " und „ Minna von Barnhelm." Halle, 1911, 40–41.) The term *Fabel,* as used here, is about what has been generally meant by *Handlung* in the various discussions from Aristotle to the present time. (For an historical summary, see Otto Spiess, *op. cit.,* 41 f.) Professor Saran, however, defines *Handlung* more precisely than any of his predecessors. It is in brief the inner logic of the motivation. We shall do best to use the technical terms now established in these studies. The smallest elements are *Motive.* These enter as *Glieder* into a *Kette,* or chain of motives. This is now generally called a *Faden.* There are *Hauptfäden* and *Nebenfäden.* Such a thread (Faden) may run through, as of course the *Hauptfäden* always do, or it may break off. It may break off completely (voller Bruch), or it may break off to reappear later. The threads unite to form a meshwork (Geflecht). They must be united by reference to some point, which may be at the end of the drama or before it opens. The definition of *Handlung* is therefore: Die „ Handlung " ist das Geflecht der Hauptfäden, welches durch das „ Ziel " bestimmt und zusammengehalten, lückenlos und in innerem Zusammenhang der Glieder vom erregenden Moment bis zur Katastrophe läuft. Der innere Zusammenhang der Glieder ist vorhanden, wenn er überall logisch nach Grund und Folge aufgewiesen werden kann. (Spiess, *op. cit.*)

It is customary to take a text and underscore every line that belongs to the

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main threads of motivation. Everything else is *Beiwerk*. The various threads and their interweaving are transferred to a diagram, which is supposed to show the progress of the dramatic action visually. The diagrams are somewhat perplexing at first sight, especially in the case of *Herodes und Mariamne*, where there are ten different kinds of lines and over two hundred numbers referring to the text (including those of the *Vorgeschichte*), which the reader must be able to interpret if the diagram is to help matters. The diagram, however, is indispensable to the method, as it requires absolute precision and persistence from beginning to end in the analysis.

Professor Saran reached the important conclusion that Lessing's theory, accepted by Freytag and others generally, was based on a single type of *Handlung*, the so-called *Zielhandlung*. In this the *Beziehungspunkt*, that is, the point with reference to which all the threads of the action are arranged, is in the future; it is at the end of the drama, it is the *Ziel* of the action. The protagonist is striving for a goal. He approaches it nearer and nearer (in the ascending action) until the climax is reached, when the opposition comes to the fore and (in the descending action) brings about the catastrophe, the final conclusion of this struggle. A perfect example is *Emilia Galotti*. (See Otto Spiess, *op. cit.*) But there are other types of *Handlung*. There is the *Entwicklungshandlung*, in which a conflict of inner forces is shown and one or the other wins. The character is not conscious of a goal here and may indeed be unconscious of the real nature of the conflict. (See Otto Spiess: Die dramatische Handlung in Goethes Clavigo, Egmont und Iphigenie. Bausteine zur Geschichte d.d. Lit. No. 17. 1918.) Spiess finds that in *Clavigo* and *Iphigenie* an *Entwickelungshandlung* is mixed with a *Zielhandlung*. Maximilian Spaeth finds that Schiller's *Räuber* is chiefly an *Entwickelungshandlung* (Karl), somewhat confused by a *Zielhandlung* (Franz). There is also an *Aufhellungshandlung*. In this the *Beziehungspunkt* is in the past. Wolff von Gordon has defined this type and illustrated it by a study of Kleists *Der zerbrochene Krug*. (Die dramatische Handlung in Sophokles „ König Oedipus " und Kleists „ Zerbrochenem Krug." Bausteine zur Gesch. d.d. Lit. N. 20. 1926.) He finds, however, that the *Oedipus* is essentially a *Zielhandlung*.

Saran suggested still another type, which he described as a *Folgehandlung*. In this too we find no goal, but an event lying at the beginning of the play, possibly even before the beginning of the action, from which every succeeding step logically and inevitably results. It is this type which Weichenmayr finds perfectly exemplified in *Herodes und Mariamne*. The point (Quellpunkt) from which everything begins, in order to be sped irresistibly to a catastrophe, is Herod's murder of Aristobulus. After a very minute analysis of the action, with accompanying diagrams, Weichenmayr sums up his conclusions (61–66), and gives the definitions of a *Folgehandlung* and its accompanying terms. The idea that any *Entwickelung*, technically affecting the action, takes place in either of the principal characters is dismissed, though the drama has generally been considered under that aspect. This is only natural, inasmuch as Hebbel made a change in the character (Entwickelung) an indispensable requirement of a dramatic action. That Weichenmayr takes no account of this apparent discrepancy is remarkable. He devotes only a few lines (p. 65) to disposing of the question, and likewise in his analysis, as meticulous as it is, overlooks the two most important passages in which the momentous change in Herod's character is clearly stated. Mariamne says to Titus (Act 5, Sc. 6): " Er ist ja längst ein andrer, als er war." And Soemus says to Mariamne in the passage where he intimates that Herod once knew how to respect his feelings:

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Doch war ich's nur (i.e. sein treuster Diener) so lange er in mir
Den Mann zu ehren wußte und den Menschen,
Wie ich in ihm den Helden und den Herrn.
Das tat er, bis er, heuchlerisch die Augen
Zum erstenmal unwürdig niederschlagend
Den Blutbefehl mir gab, usw.

It is probably true that this change has taken place in Herod before the beginning of the action and that the murder of Aristobulus is its chief indication. For his actions following that were also hypocritical (heuchlerisch), as Mariamne discerned with a sure instinct (Act 2, Sc. 3). But even so, are we to assume that the Herod of Act 5, who gives the monstrous command to slaughter the children, is the same as the Herod of Act 1?

Weichenmayr, however, does not deny *seelische Konflikte* in the play, but he says that they do not determine the course of the action. „ Wichtiger für den Verlauf als alle feinsten Schattierungen des Seelenzustandes ist der Gedanke, daß ein unseliges Geschick, das jedoch nicht als Fatum gedacht werden darf, über diesen Menschen waltet und sie in seine unerbittliche grausam konsequente Abfolge hineinreißt." „ Es muß also vermieden werden, daß die handelnden Menschen auf der Bühne zu größerer Selbständigkeit gelangen. Denn sie sind ja nichts anderes als Vorwärtsgestoßene." (P. 65.) This reduction of such self-willed characters to mere pawns is very questionable. It may be true that the *dramatische Handlung* does not represent chiefly a psychological process, but it is not necessary for that reason to call upon an *unseliges Geschick* to explain the chain of events. There is also probably no serious objection to calling this chain of events a *Folgehandlung*. The chain of cause and effect, however, can not be understood unless we take the characters into account. Over and over again Mariamne puts Herod's fate in his own hands but he is too blinded to see it. And the characters cannot be understood without taking Herod's change into account. What Hebbel shows us in this drama is the tragic conclusion of a long process in which a perfect relationship is ruined by the breakdown of one of the persons. That this conclusion is technically a *Folgehandlung* does not justify us in overlooking the history and denying the autonomy of the characters.

Weichenmayr's construction of the *Folgehandlung* is carefully done. He does not consider a *Zielhandlung* in this play as worth serious consideration, i.e., for the main characters. Yet a case might be made out for a Herodes *Zielhandlung*. His *Ziel* is clearly expressed in the monologue of Scene 2, Act 1.

Wenn ich nur bis ans Ende mich behaupte
Und nichts verliere, was ich mein genannt.

Strangely enough, Weichenmayr asserts (p. 27) that this *Gedankenreihe* ends with *voller Bruch*, which means that it has no further consequences in the dramatic action. Yet this determination dominates the character throughout and finds its last desperate expression in the command at the end to kill the children. Moreover the entire action can be organized on this line, which puts the catastrophe in Herod's collapse at the end, and not, as Weichenmayr is forced to do, at the end of the *Gerichtsszene*, before the Mariamne-Titus conversation, i.e., in the Reclam edition, twelve pages before the close of the play. Clearly the tension is not finally released until we know the effect of Titus' revelation on Herod.

The scheme of a *Zielhandlung* would be as follows. The goal: Herod resolves to hold what he has at all costs—the specific action applies this to Mariamne. The

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Quellpunkt, in which his fear of losing her originates, is in the *Vorgeschichte*, the murder of Aristobulus. The initial chord is struck in Joab's report of the picture incident. The initial impulse (erregendes Moment) is in his resolution to put Mariamne under the sword, after her refusal to promise what he demands. There the ascending action begins; Herod succeeds (verdeckte Handlung) in escaping Antony's threat. An apparent defeat awaits him in the discovery by Mariamne of Joseph's secret. But the action, which might here have turned downward toward the catastrophe, is still further *gesteigert* by the entrance of Antony's messenger. Herod fails to comprehend Mariamne's joy. He now goes further, his determination to assure himself of Mariamne in the event of his death being steeled by his doubt of her present fidelity. At once he repeats and augments his crime, outraging his friend (Soemus) as well as his wife. From his point of view, he is now sure to attain his goal. He will either assure himself of Mariamne in death or else discover her real attitude to him. That his reasoning is blind, does not matter. With the confession of Soemus, the action turns. Mariamne, for reasons of her own, becomes the main part of the opposition. She forces the King to become her executioner "in life." Through Titus, Herod learns that she was innocent. He has not only failed in his goal (to hold her), but realizes that the determination to hold her was what lost her. He still asserts his will to hold his own—but it is an empty form, he collapses in Titus's arms. This is a *Zielhandlung*. The goal, as Herod sees it, is illusory from the first, but no less real in his mind. Mariamne also has a *Ziel*. She is fighting to keep her relation to Herod pure. This *Handlung* can easily be traced in the drama. It is far nobler than Herod's but equally illusory.

The second part of Weichenmayr's study (67–100) is devoted to the *Aufbau*. *Aufbau* and *Handlung* are technically different. Only a part of the definition of *Aufbau* can be given here; „ Der dramatische Aufbau ist die geschlossene, aber wohlgegliederte Bedeutungsmasse des Dramas, die auf der Bühne aufsteigend und abfallend am Zuschauer vorüberzieht und vermöge der unterschiedlichen Schwere ihrer Teile auf ihn wirkt." It is interesting to remark that Weichenmayr, on the basis of his careful analysis, asserts that, „ von dem zweiten Mordauftrag des Herodes als von einer bloßen Wiederholung nicht gesprochen werden kann." With this the reviewer is in full agreement. In general the author concludes that the structure of the drama is practically flawless.

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F. Wagner. *Les Poèmes Héroiques de L' Edda et la Saga des Völsungs*. Traduction française d'après le text original islandais, précédée d'une étude sur les poèmes scandinaves dans leur rapports avec la Saga en prose et l'épopée des Nibelungen et accompagnée de notices explicatives. Paris, Librairie Leroux, 1929. Pp. 276.

To translate lays so profoundly Germanic, in both their inner and outer forms, into a tongue outside the Germanic family is, virtually, attempting the impossible; unless by translating be meant merely rendering words, without expectation of adequate approach to the spirit. And this is tenfold true of the attempt to render them into French, a language which is justly admired for its graceful urbanity, its tenderness, its flashing polish and incisiveness, but which represents a mode of expression and a mentality just about antipodal to the Old Germanic.

Insofar the author of this translation has our understanding—and commiserating —sympathy. But, strange to say—at least if we may judge *ē silentiō*—he has no

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conception of the temerity of his undertaking. Not a word is said about the metrical forms, the stylistic devices, the spirit, of alliterative poetry. And the French reader may justly wonder why certain portions of the matter are printed as verse when neither rime nor rhythm nor spirit seems to distinguish them from the remainder. Indeed, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chôse!*

This is unfortunate. Much worse still is the fact that M. Wagner, notwithstanding his commendable enthusiasm, is not very firm in the saddle *in Eddicis*. For all his—curiously and wonderfully gathered—bibliography, the introductory essays and the notes reveal only too clearly that he is entirely out of touch with recent advances in this field.

Taking as a specimen the last portion of *Helgakviþa Hundingsbana* II, by the translator called *Mort de Helgi* (which, for reasons not ascertainable, is detached from that lay and inserted after *Helreiþ Brynhildar* where it certainly has no business to be) I find in that short snatch of some 20 stanzas the following palpable blunders—I select passages which are in no wise debatable or even difficult.

In the Introduction to this passage (p. 132) we are told that Hǫthbrodd (spelled Hödbrod) "*fils de Granmar, ainsi que Högni et ses fils, à l'exception de Dag, ont trouvé la mort au cours de la grande bataille navale de Frekastein,*" when by reading the last stanza but one preceding the passage it may be seen to all sufficiency that it was *not* a naval battle.

"*Au Valhalla, les braves guerriers revivent d'une vie qui ne diffère de l'existence terrestre que par des occupations et des jouissances plus pures et plus nobles* (underscoring mine). . . . (*Cette pensée*) *a été mise en relief par Bürger dans sa fameuse ballade 'Lenore.'*" I hold comment to be superfluous.

In the Prose, Dag is said to meet Helgi "*à un endroit appelé 'Forêt de Fjöt'*" (which is to render *Fjǫturlundr*), whence he rode to "*les monts Svevi*" (*til Sevafjalla*).

In the notes it is explained that *Leiptr* is "*la pluie et l'arc-en-ciel qui relient le ciel à la terre*"; that *Unnar steinn* is "*le fond rocailleux de la mer sur lequel la terre s'est élevée pour surgir de l'abîme*"; that the name of Helgi's steed *Vigblær* means '*gris cheval de bataille*'; that *Vindhjálms brú* signifies '*la Voie Lactée*'—explanations which are made out of thin air.—*nema at liþi lofþungs ljóma bregþi* becomes "—*à moins que de la tombe du prince ne jaillisse un rayon de lumière.*" (To be sure, Grundtvig without sufficient reason read af hliþ (where *R* clearly has at liþi); but it is hard to see how even from that the above translation can be gotten.)—*hvé skal ek þér, buþlungr, þess bót of vinna*—is turned into the exact opposite: "—*comment, mon prince, vais-je être dédommagée de ta perte.*"

It would be invidious to go on. A pity that the task of rendering the *Edda* and *Vǫlsungasaga* into French with at least fair accuracy should have been undertaken by one—it must be said—so poorly prepared.

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An Etymological Dictionary of the Norn Language in Shetland. By Jakob Jakobsen. Part I. Pp. cxvi + 488. 1928. (London, David Nutt; Copenhagen, Vilhelm Prior.)

The Danish original of Jakobsen's great dictionary of the Norse language in the Shetland Islands was issued in four parts, successively in 1908, 1909, 1912, and 1921. It was published in Denmark, because that was the country in which the funds were furnished that made possible the publication, and because the whole

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investigation was a Danish undertaking. However, while Jakobsen was engaged in collecting his materials he usually, it appears, made his notations in English; and it was his earnest desire that his book might also sometime be issued in English. Jakobsen did not live to see that wish realized. But friends and relatives have felt it their sacred duty to make that wish a reality; and, no doubt, it is due in chief, to Jakobsen's sister, Anna Jakobsen Horsbøl of Copenhagen, that the reality takes the form in which we now have it in this beautifully gotten up and excellently printed, and also excellently translated volume.

The English edition differs very little from the original. There the fourth Part completed the *Dictionary* and also contained a phonology of the Norn words; here the phonology, as part of the Introduction, appears in Vol. I, with some additional material, as chapters VI and VII from Jakobsen's doctorate thesis, *Det norrøne Sprog på Shetland;* there have also been included some hitherto unprinted Norn fragments from Jakobsen's manuscripts. There are very few omissions; * and a partial examination reveals no important changes; it has been the intention to leave the book as Jakobsen wrote it. That, too, is really what we want it to be. There are, however, numerous places where other students may have a different view of the problem involved, as in the etymology of a word, or the identification of a word with a modern Norwegian dialectal form, etc. I shall note here some instances of this.

The word DOMA (*dōma*), sb., is defined 'sensation, sense-impression applied to taste or smell.' This is referred to ON *dámr*, m., 'taste,' Norwegian *daam*, m., 'effect on the senses; taste; smell.' The latter is used in Romsdal-Nordmøre, Norway, to-day. But does the Shetlander think of the sense-impression of taste or smell in the use of the word DOMA? Possibly not, for Jakobsen adds that the word is 'only noted down in a phrase, belonging to fisherman's tabulanguage': "DER'R NAE DOMA ON DE FISH," 'the fish will not bite.' But that suggests to us rather the Norwegian word *daam* (*daom*), as used in the two districts Sogn and Telemarken in the sense 'manner,' 'way' (*ha daam*, 'behave properly, be mannerly').

Again, the word *bolt*, 'to swallow greedily, in large mouthfuls,' 'to bolt food,' is compared with Swedish dialectal *bolka*, 'to drink in great gulps.' But the phonology shows only that K is changed to G when final or between two vowels, and occasionally initially (p. lv) (but of course in the distorted Norn words LK might have become LLT). However, if BOLT be but a variant of BOLK then we are to compare Shetlandic BOLK, 'large lump, bundle, and bolket, lumpy,' and this with Faroese *bulkur*, 'something heavy and lumpy.' But there are Norwegian dialectal forms with *-lt*, which are semantically closely connected with the Norn words, as *bolten*, adj., 'clumsy,' and *bolta*, vb., 'to rush (frantically) forward,' 'to force matters,' and further, *bulten*, 'clumsy,' and *bult*, 'a clumsy person,' 'plumpt fremtumlende person' (Ross, *Norsk Ordbog*).

On p. 126 the word DROG, 'a drudge,' and TO DROG, 'to carry a heavy burden,' are referred to ON *draga*, 'draw, pull, drag.' But *cf.* also Norw. *drog*, 'heavy, sluggish person,' *droge*, used in Hardanger, 'en som gaar og slæber sig,' *droga*, 'slæbe sig,' Ross, and many other like words in western and southwestern Norw. dialects. Jakobsen leaves the Norn words, with their O-vowel, only in part explained.

And on p. 28, is not BARD, vb., 'to thrash the corn from the stalks in a sheaf,' to be derived from ON berja—barði-barðr ('to strike, beat'), and not, with certain other words of the form BAR and BARD, BERD, from ON *barð*, 'beard'?

* Such as the item: "BAKI, adj., se VAKI, adj." (The word vaki does appear in the original.)

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The noun BASEK, 'a ship,' is given as a tabu-word from the island of Yell, with the comment, "Probably from a vb. *BASA, 'to splash,'" and the Swedish dialect word *basa*, 'to run' is compared. But West Scand. parallels are more to the point here, as Mdn. Icel. *basa*, and Norw. *basa*, 'exert oneself greatly,' and Faroese, *basa*, 'get the better of, make headway (by great effort).' In the Shetland word BASEK the idea that gave rise to the word as the name for ship then, was not the 'splashing,' but 'the making headway by strenuous effort.'

But such cases as those here mentioned are not numerous; the remarkable thing is that in a vast body of material so distorted as the words of 'Norn' the author has been able in the main to identify the source and to give and interpret the forms and uses in a way that in the great majority of words discussed is apparently correct.

Dr. Jakobsen was unusually well-equipped for undertaking the investigation of the ON linguistic survivals in Modern Shetlandic; and not the least of his equipment was the fact that as a native of the Faroe Islands he spoke from childhood a dialect that was closely related to ancient Shetlandic. Having received his training in Scandinavian philology at Copenhagen University he spent the three years 1892–1895 travelling and gathering materials in the Faroes and (chiefly) in the Shetlands. Some of the results of these studies were accepted as his doctorate dissertation at Copenhagen in 1896 (published in 1897). Jakobsen had also had unusual advantages in the Shetlands, about which he tells fully on pp. xx–xxi of the *Dictionary;* and he brought back with him a mass of material gathered with great care and fulness in regard to pronunciation, meanings, distribution, etc., which became the basis of his later *Ordbog*. The present writer, while studying at Copenhagen University in the winter of 1898–1899, met Dr. Jakobsen there and had the opportunity of speaking with him about some of the aspects of his work, particularly the tabu-words of Norn, which Jakobsen had given an account of in his recently published dissertation (see above). I can mention only briefly here this very interesting and for Germanic linguistics so important part of Jakobsen's work. I called attention to them in an article, in *The American Journal of Philology*, xlvi, pp. 60–61, from which I quote: "He made a collection of some 10,000 words, including quite a body of taboo-words. . . . Here Jakobsen uncovered materials that are invaluable for word-study and semasiology, on the one hand, and for primitive belief, on the other. We have seen from elsewhere before, as the South Sea Islands, what rôle taboo plays in primitive social institutions and customs. Here we see it as an important factor in the history of words in an Indo-European community." The completed *Dictionary* contains a much larger number of such words than those printed in J's book of 1897. Some time back I had occasion to gather all such words together in Jakobsen's *Ordbog*, and the list I have contains nearly four hundred.

Sometimes the word that replaces the tabu'ed word is simply descriptive, as DERTEK, 'boot,' from DART, 'to stamp with the foot'; but at other times the usual word (which here becomes 'the forbidden word, the tabu'ed word'), is replaced by a poetic word, or an archaic word, or a word that the present generation no longer uses at all, but which the grandparents can supply them (here 'the permitted word' i.e., the *noa* word, is an old word that has been revived); and so it happens that in the noa-language words live on that have long since died out in the language of every-day life. It may also happen that Shetland Norn will preserve words that ceased to exist in the rest of the Scandinavian North (or in Germanic in general, perhaps). For example the noa-term for 'fire' is FUNI, in which the ON poetic term for 'fire' still lives on, but now as the regular word for 'fire' in the noa-language

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of seamen and fishermen. There are other interesting features: a word may be applied in a wholly different way, as when the ON EIMR, 'steam,' Shetlandic *emek* is now used in the sense of 'fire'; and sometimes there is an equally definite formal change, as when the English loanword *dial* is altered to DAIKEL.

It may finally be mentioned that the vocabulary of Shetlandic Norn according to Jakobsen's findings, corresponds rather closely to that of southwest Norwegian dialects to-day, in so far as the words have survived there; that is the region from Bergen to Mandal, and particularly the extreme southwest, Jæderen and Dalarne. Jakobsen concludes from this that these districts form the central point for Norwegian emigration to Shetland in ancient times.

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Richard Hodges. *The English Primrose* (1644). Herausgegeben mit vollständigem Wortindex von Dr. Heinrich Kauter, Assistent am Englischen Seminar der Universität Breslau. Heidelberg, 1930. x + 118 + 61 pp.

Richard Hodges' *English Primrose* is interesting mainly as an early example of frustrated hope. The pretty title suits the content of the book not very adequately, for it is really nothing more nor less than a scheme for a reformed English spelling. Both scholarly and practical students of English were well aware in the seventeenth century of the deficiencies of English spelling as a record of English pronunciation. Hodges belongs to the class of practical students of English, and his purpose in preparing his *English Primrose* was to devise a system of orthography which would ease the burden of those younger students and of foreign students who were faced with the task of accommodating English pronunciation to English spelling. He does this by employing a series of diacritics applied to the conventional spellings in order tc distinguish the qualities of the various vowels and consonants and to indicate those letters which had no value in pronunciation. The system is adequate for the general purpose which it is intended to serve, and it is consistently carried out. But the high hopes with which the author set about his task of reforming English orthography seem not to have been any more completely realized than have been those of the countless reformers since his day who have proposed similar schemes.

As Hodges was primarily an orthoepist and not a phonologist, one would scarcely expect to find in his book many penetrating observations on pronunciation. Nor in fact does one find them, whether by direct statement or by implication. It was undoubtedly worth while to publish this rare book, but the new light it throws on seventeenth century pronunciation is very slight. The editor has faithfully reproduced the text of the two known surviving copies of the book, and has also provided a useful word-index. For comment on the book, he refers to his previously published dissertation in Professor Horn's *Beiträgen zur Erforschung der Sprache und Kultur Englands und Nordamerikas* (1928).

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* Continued from *The Germanic Review*, V, 3 (July, 1930). A list of abbreviations used is appended.

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* This list does not contain reviews of grammars or annotated texts.

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Abbreviations

See *The Germanic Review*, V, 1 (January), pp. 107, 108, for list of abbreviations.
(BR) = brief review
tr. = translation

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SHHC = *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz.* Presented by a Group of His Pupils and Friends on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, February 4, 1930. The Johns Hopkins Press. Baltimore, Md. 1930.

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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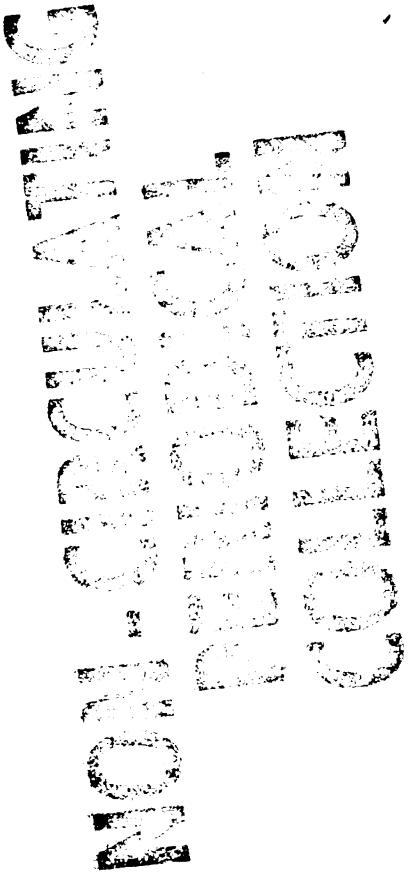
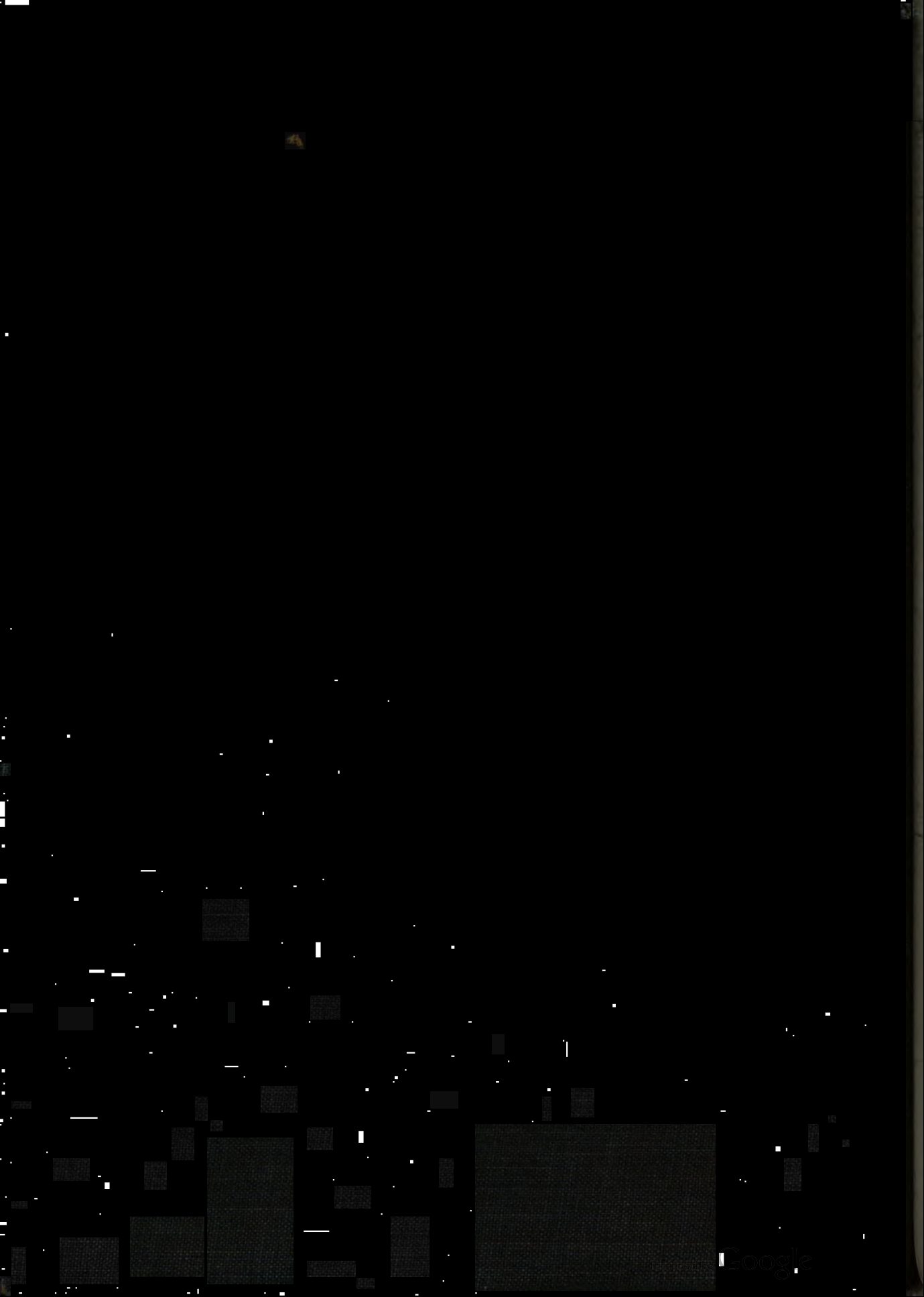
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